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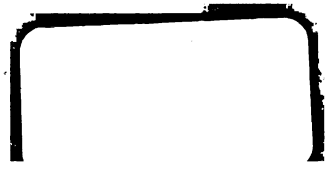

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The Martyrs of Angus and Mearns

Scott

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GEORGE WISHART.

SELECTIONS FROM THE HISTORY OF THE

SCOTTISH REFORMATION

BY THE

REV. JAMES MOFFAT, M.A. D.D.

LONDON: 12 PATERNOSTER ROW
1905

THE MARTYRS

OF

ANGUS AND MEARNS

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ARBROATH

ALEXANDER GARDNER

PAISLEY; AND 12 PATERNOSTER ROW, LONDON

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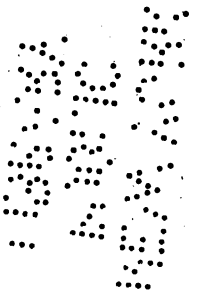

I.

PRE-REFORMATION TIMES IN SCOTLAND.

"Had not yourself begun the weiris
Your stepillis had been standand yit;
It was the flattering of your friers
That ever gart Sanct Francis flit:
Ye grew sa superstitious
In wickednesse,
It gart us grow malicious
Contrair your messe."

—*Gude and Godly Ballates.*

IN the Middle Ages, Scotland was an ecclesiastical province of the Holy Roman Empire, governed by princely prelates who received their instructions from the Pope and his Cardinals who sat in conclave in the ancient city of the Cæsars.*

* The principal authorities for the pre-Reformation period are the following:—Wyntoun's "Metrical Chronicle," Bellenden's "Chronicles," Fordun's "Scotichronicon," Sir James Balfour's "Annals," Lindsay of Pitscottie's "History," George Buchanan's "History of Scotland," Foxe's "Acts and Monuments," Knox's "History of the Reformation," Keith's "Catalogue of Scottish Bishops," Calderwood's, Spottiswoode's, Petrie's, Row's, Lorimer's, and Cunningham's Church Histories, the Chartularies of the Religious Houses, "Origines Parochiales," Theiner's "Monumenta," Robertson's "Concilia Scotiæ," Sadler's "State Papers," Lorimer's "Precursors of Knox," and Cosmo Innes's "Early Scotch History" and "Scotland in the Middle Ages."

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GEORGE WISHART.

Church bowed and crossed themselves devoutly enough when the name of Jesus Christ was mentioned, or when Mass was celebrated in melancholy tones by the slothful and dreamy priest, still Christianity had no living grasp of their heart and conscience, for it failed to sanctify and ennoble their life and to bind them back on the Eternal. Superstition was rampant because there was no true Gospel light shining in the land, and no warm, simple Evangelical Ministry endeavouring to point out the way of life and peace. Fearful of the future, all classes of the community, but especially the illiterate and imaginative peasantry and tradesmen, were prone to trust the Church in a vague, blind way, to extricate them from the pains of purgatory, or to deliver them from the awful and intolerable horrors of hell. Ignorant of the teaching of the New Testament, they worshipped the Virgin Mother, and on their bended knees invoked the aid of the Apostles, Martyrs, and Saints ; they regarded the Church as the sole dispenser of the blessings of Heaven, and the priests as channels of spiritual life and salvation ; they considered that baptism was the true laver of regeneration, and that in the Eucharist the body and blood of the Redeemer were actually present ; they believed that the

Sacrament of Penance cleansed the soul from all sins and crimes committed after baptism, and that the administration of extreme unction prepared the immortal spirit for entering the home of the shining ones and the temple of living light. Ignorance of the Word of God bred superstition, and superstition, then as now, was prone to substitute ritualism for reality, formalism for spirituality, and Christ-like life.

It is to be deplored that the literature descriptive of social life and manners in this pre-Reformation age is exceedingly scanty, but such as we possess is not fitted to convey the impression that our Roman Catholic ancestors were a high-toned, pure-hearted, and moral race. If the satirical Dunbar, in his "Two Married Women and the Widow," is to be trusted—and he was certainly not a Pharisee—modesty and purity were uncommon virtues. Harlotry found haunts and homes in the famous places of pilgrimage, and gross sensuality abounded in court and castle, in the homestead of the farmer and in the clay hut of the peasant. People of every rank must have been coarse and vicious when they could find enjoyment in singing indecent parodies of the hymns of the Church, in witnessing mocking and ridiculous imitations of the most sacred rites, and in listen-

ing to dramas full of indecent scenes and rough and ribald conversations. But the coarse and barbarous spirit of the literature itself is singularly significant. The books of an age are its truest mirrors. They are not only the offspring of the genius of the times to which they belong, but they reflect the national life, and generally feed and foster it.

"Like priest like people" is an old and true maxim; and we have ample means of forming a correct judgment respecting the character and habits of the priesthood in ante-Reformation times. Growing wealthy and worldly, the clergy of all ranks shirked their higher religious duties, and pandered to their carnal lusts and ambitions. Neglecting laborious and noble studies, and slighting the ordinance of preaching, they transformed God's house into a place of merchandise, and not unfrequently converted it into a den of thieves. They openly and deliberately auctioned pardons and indulgences, and sold benefices to the highest bidder; and when a rich abbacy or a great bishopric was vacant, they entered into the keenest competition for it, and did not scruple to revert to the meanest artifices to persuade the king or nobles to elevate them to high and profitable positions. By means of fawning, flattery, and

bribery, Court favourites, dice players, strolling bards, and dissolute characters were occasionally presented to benefices. And the illegitimate sons of the bishops, abbots, and priors frequently found themselves in possession of valuable livings, and had leased to them Church lands at nominal rates. Among the clergy, there were unquestionably some good, noble, and enlightened men, like the illustrious Bishop Kennedy of St. Andrews, and Bishop Elphinstone, the generous founder of the University of Aberdeen; but well-authenticated facts testify plainly and strongly that the overwhelming majority of the ministers of religion were hopelessly corrupt and profligate, sunk in soaking indolence and sottish ignorance, and only roused to energetic action and united effort when stimulated by worldly ambition and haunted by ghostly fears.* Indeed,

* "But, alas! the monks, as they had degenerated from the simplicity and parsimony of their ancestors, so they had turned themselves wholly from the culture of their minds to the care of their bodies; and learning was as much neglected by the rest of the priesthood also; and especially for this cause, 'that benefices were bestowed on the most slothful, and worst persons of noblemen's families, who were unfit for other employments; or else they were intercepted by the fraud of the Romanists; so that a parsonage was nothing else but a reward for some piece of service, and that sometimes none of the best.' And, besides, there was another mischief which added much to the corrupting of ecclesiastical discipline, and that was the order of the begging friars. These friars, at the beginning, pretended greater sanctity of life, and so easily

the rank and file of the clergy were so dark, degraded, and unspiritual, that when a brother burning with holy zeal for the glory of God and the salvation of souls ventured to lift up his voice against rampant vice, superstition, and error, it was drowned in ridicule or silenced by angry threats.*

The inmates of the monasteries, in particular, fell into a state of intellectual imbecility, spiritual torpor, and epicurean licentiousness. Some modern writers of distinctly mediæval tastes, fascinated by the ideally pure, calm, and studious life of cloistered retreats, have attempted to vindicate the monks and friars against the severe and ferocious invective of the famous ballad-mongers, of Buchanan, and Knox, and the leading Reformers; but they have utterly failed in their endeavours. No intelligent man can deny that the monasteries, in their early and best days, served important and beneficial purposes. They

imposed upon the people to hear them rather than their parish priests, who were commonly gross-bodied and heavy-headed fellows." Buchanan's *History of Scotland*, Vol. II., pp. 172-73.

* Boece says:—"They devoured the poor plundered people, doing nothing that became good and worthy men, striving to suppress all kinds of literature, lest the people should develop a better taste, and they themselves should be obliged to change their scandalous way of life." Book XVI.

fostered learning and religion, they developed the arts and sciences, as they were known at the time, they promoted agriculture and gardening, and they sometimes sheltered and refreshed the statesman and the soldier weary of the world's wild strife; they cultivated peaceful industries, and suppressed the feuds so readily fomented by the jealous and passionate nobles. But like many other institutions, originally good and beautiful, and civilizing, they gradually fell into decay, and failed to realize the pure and lofty ideals of their pious founders. The old serpent crept stealthily into these earthly paradises of religion, scholarship, and art, and the leisure-loving inmates could not resist his seductions. Great religious schools became the haunts of dreamy indolence and of gross ignorance and superstition; and the sanctuaries of ascetical saints were transformed into hot-beds of licentiousness. The monks and friars who embraced Evangelical doctrines at the Reformation were just the individuals who lashed most severely and mercilessly the abuses and corruptions that prevailed within the Religious Houses; and the fact that comparatively few of the Regulars joined the ranks of the Reformers, is not without moral significance.

Moreover, the monastic Registers do not impress us favourably. Those of the proud and opulent Abbey of Arbroath contain no record of a single case of ecclesiastical discipline, and hardly afford us a glimpse into the moral and spiritual condition of the Benedictines.* The truth is, these registers are little more than Land-Tenure Memoranda such as a great noble's factor might make, and retain for future reference in the event of disputes arising among tenants as to the conditions of tenure. Here and there indeed we obtain a glimpse of the state of civilization in Angus and the neighbouring counties: we learn that agriculture was prosecuted with some skill on the Abbey lands, that roads intersected the ecclesiastical property, and bridges spanned the rivers, that windmills and water-mills were employed to grind the

* "The duties of the distant rural parish, whether performed by a monk of the convent or by a vicar dependent upon it, and paid with a grudging and grinding parsimony, were always made subservient to the interests of the monastery. The incumbent was looked to as the steward for ingathering the profits of the parish,—that is, his own vicarial part—the small tithes, the altar offerings, the Pasque presents, the funeral and baptismal dues; and the convent concerned itself but little as to the manner in which he discharged his duties amongst the poor people committed to his charge. Amongst the innumerable disputes recorded between convents and their rural vicars, I believe there is not one that turns upon any question as to how the cure of the souls was performed."—Cosmo Innes' *Middle Ages in Scotland*, p. 133.

black oats and the wheat that grew upon the soil, that wherry-boats were used for crossing the estuary at Montrose, and the Firth of Tay at St. Andrews; we discover the names and pedigrees of a few long-forgotten saints, of the nobles of the shire, of husbandmen and tradesmen, of the mistresses and illegitimate children of the clergy who obtained leases of Church lands from the princely abbots; we get some interesting information concerning the boundaries of farms and the special terms on which they were granted to their occupants; but we learn nothing about the religious life of the inmates of the House dedicated by William the Lion to Saint Thomas a' Becket, the Martyr.

And if clerical morals were loose, "the knowledge that maketh wise unto salvation" was meagre and scanty. Many of the churchmen were deplorably ignorant of Biblical truth, and some knew no more of the doctrines of Christianity than what they found in the huge tomes of the metaphysical schoolmen, and in the Roman Missals or Prayer-books. Others were unable to recognise the New Testament when they saw it. George Buchanan, the Historian and Poet, states that some of the priests of Dundee were actually offended with the uncommon title "New Testament," and con-

tended stoutly that the Book had been recently written by Martin Luther, the German heretic, and therefore desired the Old.* Although the country literally swarmed with monks and friars, and priests, or vicars dependent upon the Religious Houses, ministered in every parish, the people perished for want of the Bread of Life. The Church-service was commonly mumbled or chanted in an unknown tongue, the laity were prohibited from reading the Bible, and forbidden the use of Church Catechisms written by the more zealous of the clergy, and the few religious ideas possessed by the peasantry and tradesmen were derived from their parents, from rude pictures, from monkish panegyrics on the Saints, or from the rambling conversation of the mendicant friars at the fireside. So dense was the intellectual and spiritual darkness of the times, that the Lord's Day was secularized, the churches virtually deserted, save on festivals, and sacred edifices transformed into "sanctuaries for malefactors, places of traffic, and

* *History of Scotland*, Vol. III., p. 35.

George Crichton, Bishop of Dunkeld, boasted that he knew neither the Old Testament nor the New, and declared that he was satisfied with the Breviary and Pontifical. Hence the saying, "Ye are like the Bishop of Dunkeld, that knew neither the New Law nor the Old."

resorts of past-time." Markets and fairs were held on the Day of Rest, and it cost the Reformers a determined struggle to stamp them out long after the Protestant Church was firmly established. After hearing mass in the morning, it was not unusual for the rustics to adjourn to an ale-house to sell a horse, or to buy a quantity of meal. Archers tried their skill in the graveyards, and the parish priests or vicars mingled with the crowd, and joked when the popular and roystering game of Robin Hood was played on the day that commemorates the resurrection of our Lord and Saviour. Not unfrequently the Law Courts sat on the Lord's Day, shops and places of amusement were kept open, as they are at this hour in Malta and Italy. Religious dramas of a blasphemous description were performed in the churches; and when the laity were in a jovial mood, befitting Carnival, it was their practice to elect a Revel-Lord, "who, under the name of the Abbot of Unreason, the Boy-Bishop, or the President of Fools, profaned the holy places by a mock imitation of sacred rites; and sung indecent parodies on the hymns of the Church."* The people

* See Sir Walter Scott's *Abbot*, Note; M'Crie's *Knox*, pp. 9-14; Cunningham's *Church History*, Vol. I., p. 198.

generally indulged in gross violations of the third commandment. By the great and fearful name of God, by the devil—stick, cummer, roist, or rieve, and such like stupid execrations they swore, as may be seen in a prohibitory Act of Parliament, dated as late as 1551. Lords and Bishops were mulcted in twelve pence for swearing ; Barons and Priests fourpence ; and penniless people of the baser sort had their feet thrust into the iron stocks.

The age was a dissolute and unheroic one. Both the nobles and the people were ignorant and degraded. "If the Court," as a contemporary historian states, "was dissolved in luxury, and wholly given up to plays and feastings," the common people were destitute of all moral earnestness, steeped in ignorance and superstition, and gave themselves up to the indulgence of their carnal lusts and passions, suffering the reins of self-government to lie upon the neck of appetite. Nor do we wonder at the profligacy of the laity of all classes when we know the worldly and voluptuous character of the clergy. What could be expected of a rude, illiterate people, when the Holy Catholic Church was largely controlled by Court favourites and dissolute nobles ; when the illegitimate sons of princes and prelates

held great bishoprics and splendid abbeys; when mere boys who had not completed their studies at the universities drew the revenues of important benefices and ruled priories; when harlotry was found in cloistered cells and in the painted chambers of Episcopal palaces! When priests, monks, and friars acted like gross epicureans, and more closely resembled sheep-shearers than shepherds; when a celibate Cardinal like Beaton could live in concubinage with Marion Ogilvie, give his daughter in marriage to the Master of Crawford immediately after he had burned a martyr, and bestow the lands of Baky upon his son and namesake, and flaunt his unlawful amours in the face of the world; when Hepburn, the factious, gluttonous, and adulterous Prior of St. Andrews, could demand and obtain letters of legitimation for at least nine children by different mothers, and yet be promoted to the See of Moray; when Chisholme Bishop of Dunblane, and others, could bestow munificent gifts upon sons and daughters born, of course, outside the estate of holy matrimony; then surely the Church had relaxed the laws of common morality, and set an example of profligacy to the world which could only be degrading and disastrous.

The times were evil and out of joint when one living in a National Church could write:—

" For I have sought through all the spiritual state,
Which took no compt for to hear me complain ;
Their officiars—they held me at disdain.
For symonie he rule—is all that rout,
And covetice, that carle gart bar me out.
Pride has chased far from them humility ;
Devotion has fled unto the friers,
Sensual pleasure has banished chastity ;
Lords of religion go like seculeres,
Taking mair compt in telling their deniers,
Nor do they of their constitution ;
Thus are they blinded by ambition."

When it was possible for a layman of deep veracity and unimpeachable character to paint such a frightful picture of the Roman Clergy in Scotland, what wonder that good and earnest men among the more intelligent classes should rise up in passionate indignation, smite the ecclesiastical system with all their might, and demand reform in peremptory tones! The Church established by Queen Margaret and King David had lost sight of all her grand and lofty ideals, and fallen back into the sloughs of Roman Paganism, when the vicars of the Immaculate Priest revelled in sensuality, and the preachers of the cross distinguished themselves by their pride and avarice, and slothful indulgence, and when the chief shepherds of the sheep wasted their lives in worldly or frivolous pursuits. The Bride of Christ had indeed become a pitiable and degraded prosti-

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THE ABBEY OF ARBROATH.

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tute, when monasteries and convents, founded for the cultivation of a superior sanctity, were converted into schools of scandal and vice, and the beautiful and noble churches degraded to the level of dreary melancholy mass chapels; when the parish pulpits were employed mainly for the recitation of ridiculous legendary stories of wonder-working saints, and the exhibitions of religious mysteries; and the palaces of Bishops, and the houses of Abbots and Priors were haunted by shameless courtesans, and crowded with intriguing politicians!

But when the night is darkest, the stars of promise and of hope struggle through the overwhelming gloom and shine in the sky.

II.

THE DAWN OF THE REFORMATION.

> "The grey-ey'd morn smiles on the frowning night,
> Checkering the Eastern clouds with streaks of light."
> —*Shakespeare.*

> "Morn wak'd by the circling hours, with rosy hand
> Unbarr'd the gates of light."
> —*Milton.*

THROUGH the thick darkness of the night of Papal ignorance and superstition, once and again a bright prophetic star shone with dazzling lustre for a short time, and suddenly departed to illumine and gladden another hemisphere; and occasionally a fiery meteor flashed athwart the murky sky, and vanished ere admiring spectators had an opportunity of measuring its magnitude, or estimating its real importance. As early as the beginning of the fifteenth century, a little company of persecuted Wycliffites found a quiet sanctuary and a home in the western part of Scotland, and by diffusing evangelical doctrines throughout the districts of Carrick, Kyle, and Cunningham, in Ayrshire, they helped to irradiate the overwhelm-

ing gloom. The Lollards were unquestionably the clear-shining morning stars of the Scottish Reformation. They carried across the Border the Gospel light and truth which they had derived from John Wycliffe, the good Rector of Lutterworth, and the most influential and illustrious of all English Reformers. Whether *Walter Lollard* was a "mythical personage" or an obscure religious thinker of rare force we cannot tell; whether the Lollards were poor, simple, wandering *singers** of the Gospel in Mediæval times, or stealthy and diligent sowers of *lolia* or *tares*, in the cultivated Churchfields of the continent of Europe, cannot now be definitely determined. Certainly the Lollards in Scotland, as in England, were identified with the disciples of Wycliffe, and known as a sect of Bible-loving, enthusiastic Primitive Methodists. With the great English Reformer's Translation of the Bible in their hands, and with the radical religious spirit of the Master in their hearts, they propagated the principles which lie at the root of Evangelical Protestantism, long before the golden age, when the Titanic Luther rose up in his might to hew down the mountains of Papal superstition and despotism, and the illustrious scholar and

* From the German *lollen* or *lüllen*, to *sing* or *hum*.

theologian, Calvin, appeared to build up with consummate skill the City of God on purely Scriptural foundations. The creed of the Lollards, if somewhat narrow and severe, was simple, primitive, and substantially apostolical. Discarding all Roman Catholic traditions and the commandments of men, scorning all priestcraft and ecclesiastical ceremonial, they maintained the infallible authority of the Word of God, and regarded it as the only rule of faith and manners. Practically, they said what Chillingworth afterwards averred: The Bible and the Bible only is the Religion of Christians. Like Wycliffe, they specially insisted on the vicarious nature of Christ's death, and rejected the extraordinary dogma of transubstantiation. They vehemently denounced the Romish doctrines of priestly celibacy, and purgatory; they attacked auricular confession and masses for the dead. They suffered laymen to preach the simple Gospel, and they regarded the Lord's prayer not only as the prayer that teaches to pray, but as the most perfect form of prayer. They frowned on art as a demoralising luxury, and, like the Quakers, they strongly protested against capital punishment, military pursuits, and the use of oaths. Gradually and secretly these Primitive Methodists found their way

out of Ayrshire, and travelled in a north-easterly direction till they penetrated the heart of the counties of Fife and Perth, where they discovered not a few earnest people ready to embrace their peculiar doctrines.

The most distinguished of these primitive Dissenters was James Resby, an Englishman, and one of Wycliffe's "poor priests," who had escaped the fires kindled and fed at Smithfield by Archbishop Arundel, the inveterate foe of the Lollards. Bright and joyous as the spring he had come from the South to quicken and gladden a cold and slumbering Church in a dreary and sullen land. About 1390 Resby appeared in Scotland, and the common people heard him gladly as he preached the pure doctrines of grace with a glowing enthusiasm and a fiery energy beneath the open canopy of heaven, or in lowly and obscure turf huts. Strikingly tall and spare, of military aspect, and with an eye flashing with moral earnestness, he proved a powerful and successful Evangelist, and "enjoyed a very high repute among the simple." But the popularity of Resby was his ruin. The eyes of the Churchmen were fixed on him, and like hungry wolves on a helpless lamb, they pounced upon the successful preacher of righteousness and truth. Seized at the fair

city of Perth,—which then bore the name of St. Johnstoun,—by the emissaries of Henry Wardlaw, Bishop of St. Andrews, Resby was flung into prison, and charged with spreading heretical doctrines among the people. Laurence of Lindores,* Abbot of Scone, played the part of Caiaphas in the trial, and he found another Pilate in the Duke of Albany,† who was the Regent of the Kingdom during the minority of James the First. Although the Reformer was accused of teaching forty different heretical doctrines, only two of these are known to us, namely, that the Pope is not *de facto* the Vicar of Christ; and that none save a saintly man can be Pope or Vicar of Christ.‡ These

* Laurence of Lindores, Abbot of Scone, in 1411, was the first Professor of Law in the University of St. Andrews. He is described by Walter Bower, Fordun's continuator, and the only original historian who has preserved an account of the trial of James Resby as an Inquisitor "haereticae pravitatis, solidissimo clerico et famoso theologo, vitae sanctitate quamplurimum collaudato," B. XV., Ch. XX. In 1432 he was elected Dean of the Faculty of Arts, and styled Rector of Creich, and Inquisitor for the Kingdom of Scotland, etc.

† Andrew of Wyntoun, Prior of Lochleven, in his *Metrical Chronicle*, composed about 1420, describes Robert, Duke of Albany, and Governor of Scotland, as a fierce foe of the Lollards.

"He was a constant Catholike,
All Lollard he hatyt, and Hereticke."

—Vol. II., p. 419.

‡ "Jacobus Resby, Presbyter Anglicus de Schola Johannis Wykliff . . . . . Quarum prima fuit, quod Papa de facto

seem very plain conclusions, especially when it is remembered that at this period two Popes existed, each surrounded by a galaxy of dissolute Cardinals, and each fulminating anathemas at the other as if both were incarnate fiends. But they were regarded by the Inquisitor as damnable doctrines, and because Resby refused to recant, he was summarily condemned to death, and burned at Perth in the year 1407. The founder of the University of St. Andrews was responsible for James Resby's death, and the cruelties of the scholarly Wardlaw ought to teach us the wholesome lessons that the love of learning and the love of truth are not necessarily twin sisters, and that a generous patron of letters may be the bitter foe of religious liberty.

But Lollard opinions spread in spite of the fires of martyrdom. Soon another remarkable precursor of the Reformation appeared. Paul Craw,* a Bohemian physician, was doubtless one of the noble band of students converted under the

non est Christi Vicarius. Secunda, Nullus est Papa, nec Christi Vicarius, nisi sit sanctus. De consimilibus, vel pejoribus, tenuit quadraginta conclusiones." *Fordun's Scotichronicon*, Vol. I., p. 441.

* "Paulus *Crawar* Teutonicus . . . . recommissus per ipsorum literas, tanquam praecellens arte medicinae. Hic in sacris literis et in allegatione Bibliae promptus et exercitatus inveniebatur." *Scotichronicon*, Vol. II., p. 495.

winsome and earnest preaching of Hus in the Bethlehem Chapel at Prague. He had drunk the new wine of Bohemia out of the long-forbidden Cup, and impelled by nothing but Evangelistic zeal, he came to Scotland and settled down in St. Andrews, the stronghold of the Papacy. Practising as a physician, he scattered the seed of Evangelical truth as he had opportunity. While professing Hussite opinions generally, he preached chiefly against the Sacrament of the Altar, the adoration of Saints, and auricular confession.* "Prompt and practised in sacred letters, and in adducing the Scriptures," he exhorted a wholesome influence among the educated classes in the old Academic city. "At last," says Bellenden,† in his Chronicle, "he was brought before the theologians, and all his opinions condemned. And because he persevered obstinately to the end of his plea, he was condemned and burnt."

According to Bower, Paul Craw perished at St. Andrews on the twenty-third day of July, 1433, but Foxe, the marvellous Martyrologist, places his death in the year 1431, when Thomas Bagley,

* See Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*, Vol. III., pp. 600-601 (Cattley's edit.)

†John Bellenden, Archdean of Murray, in James the Fifth's reign, was the Translator of Hector Boece's History.

Vicar of Monenden, "a valiant disciple and adherent of Wickliff," was degraded and burned at Smithfield. Before the good Bohemian physician received the red crown of martyrdom, he acknowledged that he had been sent out of *Beum* to disseminate the principles and doctrines of Wycliffe and John Hus; but when he attempted to make a full confession of his faith, and to vindicate the religious opinions for which he had been condemned, the cowardly persecutors gagged his mouth with a ball of brass lest the multitudes that surged around the stake should be infected. Curiously enough, these early Lollard preachers were specially adapted for the peculiar circumstances in which they found themselves placed. If Resby, the poor English priest, ministered with great acceptance and with singular power among the simple and devout peasantry and tradespeople of the counties of Ayr and Perth, Craw, the distinguished medical missionary, was admirably fitted for influencing for good, the youthful and aspiring scholars found in the classic haunts and homes of St. Andrews. Both missionaries were evidently men of stainless life, of great simplicity and nobility of character, of extraordinary moral earnestness and courage. Though silenced by the meanest of all arguments—the bigot's and the coward's fire—the ablest and

haughtiest prelates of Rome could not defeat or degrade them. In pouring fierce and barbarous invective upon their heads, and then thrusting them into the flames, they only crowned them with immortal youth and strength and glory.

> "When Fortune means to men most good,
> She looks upon them with a threat'ning eye."

From the time of Paul Craw's martyrdom till 1494, we hear little of the progress of Lollardism; but in the interval, one prelate of great distinction, and of beautiful character, suffered for his loyalty to conscience and fidelity to duty and truth. In 1471 Patrick Graham became Primate of Scotland and the Pope's Nuncio.* He was a pure and faithful minister of Christ among a thousand dissolute and slovenly hirelings. Heartily ashamed of the abuses and corruptions of the Church, he set himself to promote the cause of reform. Soon, however, his radical measures roused the hostility

* Patrick Graham was the son of Lord Graham, and nephew of James I. In 1466 he was translated from the See of Brechin to St. Andrews. Spottiswoode speaks highly of Graham, and thus concludes :—"This end had that worthy man, in virtue and learning inferior to none of his time, oppressed by the malice and calumny of his enemies, chiefly for that they feared reformation of their wicked abuses by his means." See Knox's Works (Laing's edit.), Vol. I., Appendix, p. 499.

of the drowsy clergy and conservative nobles, and after being tried and cast by Huseman, the Papal Legate, he was degraded from his high position, imprisoned in the lonely Castle of Lochleven, where he died broken-hearted and demented, in 1478.

Meanwhile the Lollards were quietly preaching the Gospel of God's grace in the West of Scotland, and notwithstanding the strenuous efforts exerted by the Pope's knights to counteract their influence, they gained fresh converts. As early as the year 1416, the founders of the University of St. Andrews had compelled all students bent on taking the degree of Master of Arts to swear resistance to the Lollards; in 1425, King James the First had passed an Act of Parliament at Perth requiring bishops to search their dioceses for Lollards, and hunt down the pestilent heretics; and now in 1494, when James the Fourth reigned, Blackader, the first Archbishop of Glasgow, manifested his zeal for the Church that had enthroned him by prosecuting thirty Lollards, and only spared their lives because the young and gracious Sovereign firmly interposed. Knox* has preserved the names of the Lollard leaders, and they well deserve a dis-

* *History*, Vol. I., p. 7 (Laing's edit.)

tinguished place among the noble army of confessors. George Campbell, of Cessnock; Adam Reid, of Barskimming; John Campbell, of Newmilns; Andrew Shaw, of Polkemmet; Helen Chalmers, Lady Polkellie; and [Marion] Chalmers, Lady Stair:—these were the conspicuous Evangelicals of Ayrshire who kept the torch of true religion burning in the gloomy night of Papal error and superstition.

As the morning of the Reformation broke, new luminaries appeared in the sky heralding the perfect day. Toward the close of the fifteenth century three universities existed in Scotland, and in spite of Papal inspection and domination men of liberal and enlightened opinions and of humanistic tendencies occupied some of the professorial chairs. Hector Boece in Aberdeen, Gavin Logie in St. Andrews, and John Major in Glasgow were distinguished teachers and liberal theologians, if not distinctly evangelical reformers. From their class-rooms aspiring youths sallied forth into remote parts of the country, carrying with them the torch of truth; and while they enlightened the peasantry, who sat in Cimmerian gloom, they scourged ecclesiastical abuses, denounced flagrant wrongs, and ridiculed Popish superstitions. So clear and strong had the light of the Evangel

grown at the close of the first quarter of the fifteenth century, that all the might of Rome could not extinguish it. The gates of the East opened and sunshine illumined the land. One of Wycliffe's disciples had fled to Germany when intolerance reigned in England, and in the famous old tile-roofed town of Worms, on the Rhine, he had succeeded in printing a strong, racy, idiomatic English translation of the Bible. Notwithstanding all the devices of the Papal Church to seize and destroy Tyndale's Bibles landed at the various ports on the East Coast of Scotland, they quickly found their way among the people, who read them in secret with great avidity and with a wondrous joy. The English Bible was to multitudes a revelation from heaven. It showed them that the way of life was a way of peace and safety. It convinced them that the personal living Saviour was the centre of the Christian religion, and that faith in Him, and the imitation of His life, were more essential to salvation than the strictest observance of all the elaborate rites and ceremonies of the Roman Church. Having tasted of the pure Word of God, the people hungered after it. A great demand arose for English Bibles, and the Churchmen trembled. Accordingly, an Act of Parliament was speedily passed at Edinburgh, in July 1525 threatening

with pains and penalties all persons who ventured to bring into the country "any books or works by Luther or his disciples," or "rehearse his heresies or opinions unless it be to the confusion thereof"; but the skippers trading to Holland and the Low Countries were not easily frightened. Rather than abandon the traffic in Bibles, they were prepared to sacrifice their ships, run the risk of imprisonment and the confiscation of their goods. At Leith and Dundee, at Montrose and Aberdeen, numerous Bibles in the English tongue were landed, and purchased not only by the working classes, but by friars, priests, burgesses, and nobles. In the solitude of the night, and in quiet secluded places, little companies of pious people met to read the Word of God, or more frequently to hear it read by some intelligent friend or neighbour, with the happy result that whole communities were converted, and that not a few Churchmen began to preach from their pulpits the doctrines of Evangelical Christianity. Converted and enlightened priests became the noblest and boldest leaders of the Reformation under Knox, and the most eloquent and powerful ministers of the Reformed Church when firmly established.

But there were other forces operating in favour of the Reformation which must not be overlooked

in our rapid survey—forces of a purely literary character. If Tyndale's English Bible quickened and enlightened the religious mind and satisfied the desires of those in quest of the chief good, if Luther's books fostered evangelical sentiments and roused the spirit of liberty, the poems and ballads of William Dunbar and Sir David Lindsay, satirising the vices of the clergy and exposing the abuses and corruptions of the Church, brought the Papacy into contempt. In Italy and in England the savage invective of the poets had shaken the people's faith in the Roman creed, and emancipated them from the galling yoke and the debasing servitude of priestcraft. Petrarch and Boccaccio in particular had poured torrents of scorn and wrath upon the insolent, hypocritical, and licentious ministers of religion in Italy; and the great Florentine, in his "Divine Comedy," had lashed with whips of burning flame the haughty dignitaries of the Church, for their avarice and worldly ambition, and did not scruple to represent popes, cardinals, abbots, and priests as infamous and unhappy wretches, plunged in the nethermost circles of the glowing Inferno, writhing in penal fires and "tasting the poisonous drugs of hell." Petrarch was not so commanding and powerful a writer as Dante; indeed, he was destitute of the

moral strength and grandeur, of the sublime and invincible spirit of "the man who had been in hell"; but he was a pure and beautiful character, and furthered in many ways the cause his master had at heart. Ridiculing the vices of the religious orders, and lashing the abuses of the Church, he broke the spell with which Rome had enchained the imagination of the Italian people. Dante had described the pontiffs of his evil day as rulers whose

> "Avarice
> O'ercasts the world with mourning, underfoot
> Treading the good, and raising bad men up.
> Of shepherds like to you, the Evangelist
> Was 'ware, when he who sits upon the waves
> With kings in filthy whoredom he beheld."

And Petrarch had thus depicted the Papal Church:

> "Once Rome! now false and guilty Babylon!
> Hive of deceits! Terrible prison,
> Where the good doth die, the bad is fed and fattened,
> Hell of the living. . . . Cast her out."

Chaucer, the father of English poetry, and an observant man of the world, had carried on similar destructive work. Moulded in some measure by Wycliffe and his disciples, sympathetic with honest, independent thinkers and liberal movements, and the humorous satirist of the friar and the nun, of the priest and the pardoner, he was a genuine pre-

cursor of the Reformation. In the famous "Canterbury Tales," descriptive of the pilgrimages made by all classes of Londoners to the splendid shrine of Saint Thomas, his attacks upon the representatives of Latin Christianity "run nearly the whole gamut of satire." A man of free and penetrating spirit, of wide and generous sympathies, of plain and forcible speech, Chaucer marked the vices and the foibles of the clergy, and embodied them in vivid and humorous pictures that provoked a contemptuous smile or an outburst of mirthful mockery. If he did not lash the friars and the priests for their envy, pride, sloth, and self-indulgence, like the great Italians who inspired him, he held them up to ridicule, and shot at them shafts of light raillery. If he did not attempt to storm the citadel of Popery with heavy guns, he quietly and steadily sapped and mined the foundations. What lively mockery is there in the description of the mendicant friar!

"His wallet lay beforne him in his lappe,
Bret-ful of pardon come from Rome al hote.

. . . .

He was an esy man to give penance,
Ther as he wiste to han a good pittance . . .
And knew wel the tavernes in every toun,
And every hosteler and gay tapstere,
Better than a lazar and a beggere."

And what broad satire is in these words that fall from the lips of the Summoner :

> "This Frere bosteth that he knoweth helle,
> And, God it wot, that is but litel wonder,
> Freres and Fendes ben but litel asonder."

But while Chaucer gaily satirised the friars, and exposed the "pardoner" with his caressing voice and hypocritical manners to contempt, he painted a beautiful and charming picture of the good "parson," and showed the people of his time what a Christian minister ought to be. The faithful shepherd was no mercenary, running to London "to seek himself a chantery for souls," putting out "his benefice on hire, and leaving his sheep encumbered in the mire," but a man of "holy thought and work," diligent in preaching the pure Gospel and visiting the poor and the sick and the sorrowful, ready to rebuke the obstinate sinner and to encourage the true penitent, and as careless of pomp and reverence as of "a spiced conscience."

In the same way, Dunbar and Lindsay of the Mount advanced the cause of Reformation in Scotland. The former was a poetical satirist of the secular sort, delighting in puncturing the running sores and exposing the frailties and vices of his countrymen. He had been a Dominican monk

and was perfectly familiar with the inner life of the Church: at a later period he had acted as secretary to some of the ambassadors of King James the Fourth, and possessed a pretty intimate acquaintance with the habits and tastes of courtiers and statesmen; and he used his varied knowledge to advantage in his books. Painting dark and lurid pictures of the clergy with the hand of genius, representing priests and friars dancing in the infernal regions with glittering and shameless harlots, he fearlessly stript the religious orders of their cloak of hypocrisy, and exhibited them in all their naked deformity to the execration of the world. Delineating with a picturesque and sardonic pen the sins and follies of the people generally, he showed them, as in a mirror, repulsive and fantastic pictures of themselves fitted to make the baser sort laugh and the better classes heartily ashamed. Dunbar was rather a caustic cynic than an earnest moralist; yet his satirical poems accomplished the work of destroying angels. Of all the precursors of the Scottish Reformation, he best illustrates the quaint old adage: "God can strike a straight stroke with a crooked stick." If he cannot be reckoned among the honourable builders of the City of God, he well deserves a place among the besiegers of Babylon.

Sir David Lindsay was a man of a different stamp. Of aristocratic birth, the friend of princes and nobles, a courtier and a scholar, he was a powerful personage, and his great influence and splendid talents were all exerted in favour of righteousness, truth, and liberty. If he was a less brilliant poet than Dunbar, he was a better Christian. A Fifeshire squire of rare veracity, of moral and spiritual insight, of Evangelical principles and deep-seated convictions, he sympathised with the Lutheran movement in Germany, and longed for the regeneration of the Scottish Church. More powerful than polished and refined, more frank and fearless than gentle and retiring in disposition, he smote the Papal Church with a Thor-like hammer. Constituted like the iron Knox himself, gifted with his intense moral earnestness, seyere humour, and grand command of the mother-tongue, he dealt out terrible blows to the ecclesiastical system he despised, because of its flagrant abuses and corruptions. Possessed of an eagle eye and a bold imagination, he imitated the author of the *Divine Comedy.* Vouchsafed a vision of Pandemonium, he discovered there "many careful cardinals, archbishops in their pontificals, . . . priors and abbots and false flattering friars," and *bings* of churchmen. Sur-

prised and scandalized at the awful sight, he enquired of Dame Remembrance the cause of the prelates' doom, and was forthwith informed that it was covetousness, lust, ambition, and sheer worldliness.

> "Als, they did nocht instruct the ignorant,
> Provoking them to penitence by preaching,
> But servit warldly princes insolent,
> And were promoved by their feigned fleeching,
> Nocht for their science, wisdom, nor their teiching.
> By Simony was their promotion,
> More for deneirs (moncy), nor for devotion."

The poet's "Dream, or Marvellous Vision," dedicated to James the Fifth, was originally intended to bring the corrupt condition of the Church under the King's notice; and "The Complaint" which followed was designed to point out to His Majesty the reforms most urgently required. So he wrote:—

> "Cause them mak ministratioun,
> Conform to their vocatioun;
> To preach with unfeinyet intents,
> And truly use the sacraments,
> After Christ's institutions.
> Leaving their vain traditions,
> Whilk does the silly sheep illude,
> Whom for, Christ Jesus shed his blood;
> As superstitious pilgrimages,
> Praying to graven images,
> Express against the Lord's command.

"The Complaint" was speedily eclipsed by "A Pleasant Satire on the Three Estates, in commendation of Virtue, and vituperation of Vice." This great and powerful drama, full of burning invective, was acted first at Cupar-Fife in 1535; then at Linlithgow Palace before the King, Queen, Court, Council, Bishops, and the gentry of the surrounding districts; and afterwards in the amphitheatre at St. Johnstoun or Perth, before a distinguished assembly. It was essentially a daring and undisguised attack upon the Roman clergy of all ranks—rating them soundly for oppressing and robbing the widow and the orphan in various ways, especially for carrying off beasts as corpse-presents, and any household article that fascinated their covetous eye—denouncing them energetically for neglecting the preaching of the Gospel, prohibiting the circulation and reading of the Bible, extolling pardons, relics, and imaginary saints, and scorning all measures devised for the furtherance of the welfare of the people—and exposing "the great abominable vices that reigned in cloisters, and the common bordells kept in cloisters of nuns." Nor were nobles and commoners spared. The ambitious and plastic courtiers, the dissolute and marauding gentry, constantly engaged in angry and bloody fends, were branded with the lightning

of his satiric rage. The satire of the Three Estates was bitter as gall and wormwood to the age, but it wrought like a medicine, producing beneficent results. Shortly after its appearance, the King called upon the Bishops, exhorted them to reform their fashions and manners, declaring, "that unless they did so, he would send ten of the proudest of them unto his uncle in England, and as those were ordered (handled), so he would order all the rest that would not amend." And when Cardinal Beaton, at a later period, proposed to cleanse the land of Lutheran heresy by burning out a hundred reforming nobles and gentlemen, the indignant monarch said: "Pack you, get you to your charges, reform your own lives, and be not instruments of discord between my nobility and me, or else, I avow to God, I will reform you, if ever I hear such motion of you again." But the King and his courtiers were not the only persons influenced by the poems of Lindsay. Written in the mother-tongue of the common people, full of sparkling wit, of pawky humour, of bitter invective and picturesque personalities, the poems were eagerly read by "every man, woman, and child." Row, in his *History of the Scottish Church* has preserved an amusing and instructive anecdote, showing how the poems

of the satirist gradually moulded the religious opinions of the people, and fostered an intelligent interest in the reformed doctrines. During the season of Lent, a friar, preaching in a Church at Perth, attended by three hundred scholars of the celebrated schoolmaster, Andrew Simson, "began to relate some miracles and to inveigh against the new Hugonot preachers, who then were beginning to teach God's truth in the fields because they got not liberty to speak in the Church, and people went out to them and delighted much to hear God's truth plainly spoken." However, when the friar waxed vehement in his denunciation of the new preachers, Simson's scholars became indignant and irrepressible, hissed and cried out against him, and he in terror rushed out of the pulpit and returned no more. On the Sabbath following a strange friar appeared in the pulpit, complained bitterly to the magistrates of the insolence and ill-treatment his brother had received, and demanded that the hissing delinquents should be discovered and punished. The schoolmaster being a zealous Papist, diligently searched the school for the offenders, and at length learned that the son of a craftsman, familiar with Lindsay's poems, had been the ringleader of the opposition and the chief cause of the disturbance and uproar.

When the frenzied schoolmaster was about to punish the youth, he stoutly denied that Lindsay's *Monarchies* was a heretical book, and frankly volunteered to produce it for inspection. Simson immediately perused the book, embraced the principles which it enforced, screened the youth from the rage of the Town Council, and warned the friars against denouncing the new preachers who had won the sympathy and admiration of his scholars. Eventually the Perth schoolmaster espoused the cause of the Reformation, married a daughter of Archbishop Adamson, became minister of Dunnine and Cargill, in Perthshire; and by an order of the General Assembly in 1564, was translated to Dunbar.*

* "But as for the particular means whereby many in Scotland got some knowledge of God's truth, in the time of great darkness, there were some books set out, such as Sir David Lindesay, his poesie upon the Four Monarchies, completed in 1552, under the title, *A Dialogue betwixt Experience and a Courtier of the Miserable Estate of the World*, and printed at St. Andrews in 1554, wherein many other treatises are contained, opening up the abuses among the clergy at that time; Wedderburn's *Psalms and Godly Ballads* changing many of the old Popish songs unto Godly purposes; a Complaint given in by the halt, blind, and poor of England, against the prelates, priests, friars. and other such kirkmen, who prodigally wasted all the tithes and kirk-livings upon their whores and other unlawful pleasures, so that they could get no sustentation nor relief as God had ordained."—Row's *History of the Kirk of Scotland*, p. 6.

Among other literary influences which weakened the power of the Roman Church in Scotland, and strengthened the cause of the struggling Reformers were the *Gude and Godly Ballads, changed out of profane songs for avoiding of sin and harlotry.* The title graphically describes the character and design of the sacred poems that leavened the masses with evangelical doctrines. "The air, the measure, the united line, or the chorus of the ballads most commonly sung by the people at that time, were transferred to hymns of devotion. Unnatural, indelicate, and gross as this association appears to us, these spiritual songs edified multitudes in that age." The authors of these songs were the brothers Wedderburn of Dundee, who were enthusiastic Reformers, and lent their powerful influence to establish the Reformed Church on the banks of the Tay. James Wedderburn had "drunk at St. Leonard's Well" while studying at St. Andrews, and while prosecuting his calling as a merchant in Dundee he cultivated the gift of poesie, and wrote caustic satires on the clergy. He composed a Tragedy on the Martyrdom of *John the Baptist*, "wherein he carped roughly the abuses and corruptions of the Papists." It was acted at the West Port of the town, and produced a great sensation. The Tragedy was fol-

lowed by a Comedy, entitled *Dionysius the Tyrant*, in which the Papacy was ridiculed and the Clergy lampooned. Threatened with imprisonment by the irritated priests, he fled to France in 1540, and died at Dieppe.* John Wedderburn, Vicar of Dundee, and Robert, were younger brothers of the satirical poet, and they too were accomplished scholars and devout Christians. Fired on the continent of Europe with evangelical zeal, they were the principal translators of Luther's Hymns and the Psalms of David, sung in Protestant Assemblies prior to the Establishment of the Reformed Church of Scotland. They were also the writers of the *Godly Ballates*, which quickened and refreshed the little companies of evangelical Christians that struggled for religious reform. Old John Jonston, in one of his Latin Poems on the Martyrs and Confessors of Scotland, pronounces a lofty eulogium on these three brothers, and testifies warmly in favour of their noble character and pure Christian zeal. "Brotherly souls," says he, "clear shining lights of the nation, three equal in learning and in piety! Happy the parents who bore you, and the land which gave us hostages so rare! Begotten in

* See Maxwell's *History of Dundee*, p. 68.

Heaven, renowned Alectum (Dundee) presented you to the earth; whence I suppose it has the name Dei-Donum (the gift of God)." Speedily the spiritual songs of the Wedderburns obtained a wide circulation, and steadily rose in popular favour. Travelling chapmen hawked them through the remotest districts in the land, and sold them to the peasantry, to tradesmen, to shopkeepers, and to schoolmasters. James Melville, in his Autobiography, informs us that when he was attending the School of Thomas Anderson, in Montrose, a carrier first shewed him 'Wedderburn's Songs,"* which he learned by heart, "with great diversitie of toones." So the Protestant doctrines spread through the land, and numbers were daily added to the band of resolute Reformers.

* John Scott of Dundee was the printer of Wedderburn's songs, and a brave and good printer he was. He first carried on the business of printing in Dundee, then in St. Andrews, and afterwards in Edinburgh. Though frequently molested and prosecuted by the Romanists, the strong shield of John Scrymgeour, the Constable of Dundee, was thrown around him. Standing in the presence of the Lords of the Council on April 5, 1547, the Constable alleged that he had "socht for Johne Scot and could nocht find him;" and when commended peremptorily to search more diligently and exactly within the bounds, under pain of being regarded "as art and part takar with him in his evil deeds," he renounced in their presence "his office of Provestrie of the Burgh of Dundee."

But whatever beneficent influences were exerted by the poets and hymn-writers of the period, the *Martyrs*, by their holy lives, firm faith, courageous conduct, and bold apostolical preaching, surpassed all other agents in forwarding the work of God. Among the noble Confessors of Scotland, Patrick Hamilton was the foremost. Born, probably, at Stonehouse,* in the diocese of Glasgow, about the beginning of the sixteenth century,† he was of noble lineage, and closely connected with several illustrious Scottish families. His father, Sir Patrick, was an illegitimate son of Lord Hamilton, who married the Princess Mary, daughter of James the Second; and his mother was Catherine Stewart, daughter of Alexander, Duke of Albany. Early devoted to the sacred service of the Church, Patrick Hamilton was appointed Titular Abbot of Fearne, in Ross, when a mere boy of thirteen; and soon after obtaining this dignity, he proceeded to the Continent for the purpose of cultivating his mind and enlarging his knowledge. In the year 1520 he studied at the

* Lorimer, in his *Life of Patrick Hamilton*, has almost conclusively proved that the Reformer was born at *Stonehouse*, in the diocese of Glasgow, and not at Kincavil in Linlithgowshire, p. 5, Note, B. 224.

† Francis Lambert of Avignon informs us that Hamilton was twenty-three in the summer of 1527, and consequently he must have been born about 1504.

University of Paris, and imbibed from some of his Humanistic companions the opinions of moderate Reformers, like Erasmus and Reuchlin. Returning to Scotland in 1523, young Hamilton frankly avowed himself a disciple of the Humanists, and boldly advocated the doctrines of Martin Luther. As time fled, Lutheran opinions spread and rooted themselves deeply in the noblest minds in Scotland. Alarmed at the rapid diffusion of heretical doctrines, the Archbishop of St. Andrews, determined to extirpate them by striking a heavy blow at the liberal scholar and Abbot; but ere he could accomplish his purpose, Hamilton had crossed the German Ocean and found an asylum in the Home of Protestantism. Settling first at Wittemberg, and afterwards at Marburg, he held intimate fellowship with the most illustrious of the German theologians and reformers. Luther, Melanchthon, and Francis Lambert discovered in him a youth of great promise and genuine piety, and took pains to instruct him more perfectly in the doctrines of grace. Eager to preach the pure doctrines of the Gospel to his own friends and countrymen he returned to Kincavil, in Linlithgowshire, at the close of 1527, married, as Alexander Alesius tells us, "a young lady of noble rank," and then marched forth to attack

the Roman Catholic Church in her principal stronghold. After ministering for a month in St. Andrews, James Beaton, the Archbishop, alarmed at his popularity, decoyed him into the Castle, arraigned him before a tribunal of Bishops and Theologians, charged him with disseminating heretical, albeit evangelical, doctrines, and summarily condemned him to death.* Execution was immediate. Ere the leaden clouds of the last dark day of February

* Hamilton was really a martyr to the *Pauline doctrine of Justification by faith alone.* When interrogated by Alexander Campbell, his accuser, he insisted on the lawfulness of reading the New Testament, and vindicated the position that all men might 'amend their lives by faith and repentance, and come to the mercy of God by Christ Jesus.' He denied that it was lawful 'to worship Imagery,' and to pray to Saints, to 'the Blessed Virgin, or John, James, Peter, or Paul, as Mediator to God for us.' He held it vain to sing soul-masses, Psalms and Dirges for the relaxation of souls in Purgatory, and contended that the Blood of Jesus Christ alone could purge the souls of men.—See *Lindsay of Pitscottie's History*, pp. 133, 134. (Edit., 1728.)

"These articles following were the very articles for which he suffered. 1. Man hath no free will. 2. A man is only justified by faith in Christ. 3. A man, so long as he liveth, is not without sin. 4. He is not worthy to be called a Christian, who believeth not that he is in grace. 5. A good man doth good works: good works do not make a good man. 6. An evil man bringeth forth evil works: evil works, being faithfully repented, do not make an evil man. 7. Faith, hope, and charity be so linked together, that one of them cannot be without another in one man, in this life."—*Foxe's Acts and Monuments*, Vol. IV., p. 560. (Cattley's Edit., 1837.)

1528, enshrouded the Lomond Hills, Patrick Hamilton was burning in the fire kindled in front of St. Salvator's College. As the wood was green and the gunpowder scarce, the fire burned slowly, but though the martyr suffered terribly, he never winced nor manifested any sign of anger. Quickly a baxter named Myrton ran and brought an armful of straw and flung it into the fire. The wind blew violently, and the flames leapt high and strong, scorching the cowl of the Dominican friar who had played the part of accuser in the trial, but literally roasting the fearless confessor. A solitary voice rose out of the breathless awe-stricken crowd, demanding a sign of his steadfastness in the faith for which he suffered. Three fingers of his scorched, half-consumed hand, were stretched out, and held in one position till his gentle and strong soul found a home in the bosom of God! Calmly he died, with these pathetic words on his lips: "How long Lord shall darkness overwhelm this realm? How long wilt thou suffer the tyranny of men? Lord Jesus, receive my spirit." Hamilton was a wonderfully beautiful and attractive character, and his memory is embalmed in the heart of every patriotic Scotsman. His youth, his conspicuous virtues and scholarly attainments, his holy bravery, his unswerving faith,

and fearless tongue, created the liveliest sympathy among the people of his own times, and roused a fierce and determined hostility against the murderous Beaton and his minions. In burning Hamilton the Roman Catholics forgot the famous adage of Tertullian: "The blood of the martyrs is the seed of the Church;" and they did not foresee that the blazing fires of martyrdom would illumine the whole of Scotland. What a significant comment on the brutal deed is that of Calderwood's: "The cruelty executed upon Master Patrick Hamilton, in the beginning of King James the Fifth's reign, moved many to inquire into the truth of the articles for which he suffered, and to call in doubt these points which before they held for undoubted verities. Within few years both Grey and Black Friars and Channons, began to declaim publicly against the pride and idle life of the Bishops, the abuses of the whole ecclesiastical estate, the foolish traditions and errors of the kirk; and therefore were pursued, and either fled or suffered. The favourers of the truth increased to many thousands before the death of King James the Fifth, notwithstanding of his opposition."*

* *Calderwood's History of the Church of Scotland*, p. 2. (Edit. 1680.)

"The reek of the fire that consumed Patrick Hamilton infected all on whom it blew," said John Lindsay to James Beaton ; and the statement was amply verified by the sudden appearance of numerous bold evangelicals, pleading for reform, immediately after the year 1528. Gavin Logie, Principal of St. Leonard's College, in St. Andrews, favoured the new movement, inculcated liberal opinions among the students, and was long regarded with suspicion by his conservative brethren. Before the close of 1535 he was compelled to flee for his life, and the Papists pointedly indicated their opinion of his character and tendencies when they spoke of subsequent Evangelicals as "having drunk out of St. Leonard's Well." John Winram, sub-Prior of the Monastery, was a somewhat timid and cautious man, but he quietly leavened the novices under his care with Lutheran principles, secretly sympathised with persecuted heretics, and ultimately became Superintendent of Fife when the Protestant Church was established. Among the friars William Arth was the most zealous and satirical. Mounting the pulpit of the great Church in Dundee he, like a true son of Savonarola, denounced the lazy and licentious Bishops, spoke vehemently against "the abuses of cursing and miracles," and alleged that the Civil

Magistrates ought to deprive the vicious Churchmen of their benefices. Buffetted and insulted by the jackmen of the Bishop of Brechin, Arth complained to Doctor John Major, Provost of the Old College, and an oracle in St. Andrews, communicated to him the principal heads of the sermon alleged to be heretical, and found that he entirely agreed with him. But this friar lacked the courage of his opinions. At the instigation of his brethren who were afraid of losing the benediction of the Bishops,—"the malt and meal, and the appointed pension,"—he fled into England, where he was imprisoned.

Now men were beginning to speak out with an alarming freedom and fearlessness, and the dignitaries of the Church resolved to make a great bonfire to frighten the Protestant leaders. Between the years 1530 and 1540 not a few excellent and earnest Christian men were burned, and many were driven into exile. Among others, Henry Forrest, a Benedictine Monk, and "a son of the mason who built the wall around the Palace of Linlithgow," perished in the flames at the North Church stile of the Abbey of St. Andrews for expressing sympathy with the Lutherans, adjudging Hamilton a martyr, and possessing a copy of the New Testament in English. David

Stratoun of Whitstoun, in the Mearns, had embraced Protestant principles; Norman Gourlay, a Secular Priest, and "a man of reasonable erudition," had married after he returned from the continent; both suffered at the Rood of Greenside, in the suburbs of Edinburgh, in 1534. About 1538, Sir Duncan Symson, chaplain; friars Kyllour and Beveridge of Stirling; and Robert Forrester, gentleman, brother of the Laird of Arngibborne, were publicly burnt on the Castle Hill of Edinburgh for inveighing against the persecuting Prelates, and attending the wedding of their friend and neighbour, Thomas Cocklaw, Vicar of Tullybody near Alloa, and eating flesh in Lent at the marriage feast. Not long after this, Thomas Forret, Vicar of Dollar—a village beautifully situated on the banks of the "clear winding Devon," at the roots of the Ochill hills—was arraigned for heresy. He belonged to the ancient House of Forret, in Fife, obtained his education at Cologne, and was a Dean and Canon-Regular of St. Colm's Inch, in the Frith of Forth. In studying the works of St. Augustine, he, like Luther, found the Truth, and became a bold defender of the doctrines of grace. An able and accomplished scholar, Forret prosecuted his parochial work in Dollar with great diligence and extraordinary success.

He rose at six o'clock in the morning and studied till twelve, committed three chapters of the Bible to memory daily, and repeated them at night to his servant, Andrew Kirkie, composed a Catechism in English for his parishioners, visited them systematically for the purpose of instructing them in Christian doctrine, and preached from a Gospel or Epistle *every Sunday*,—a very uncommon feat in those days of darkness and ministerial inefficiency. When the Pope's Indulgence-mongers entered his parish, Forret stoutly opposed them, denounced them as deceivers of the people, and plainly affirmed that the pardon of sins could "come, neither from Pope nor any other, but only by the blood of Christ." Ere long his pastoral zeal, his purity of life, and his devotion to evangelical truth, provoked the jealousy and hatred of his slothful and greedy brethren. Malicious informers were at hand, and Crichton, Bishop of Dunkeld, summoned him to his palace, and remonstrated with him. "My joy, Dean Thomas," said the Prelate, "I would you took your cow and your uppermost cloth, as other Churchmen do; or else it is too much to preach every Sunday: for in so doing you may make the people think that we should preach likewise. . . . We are not ordained to preach. . . . I thank God that I

never knew what the Old and the New Testament was; therefore, Dean Thomas, I will know nothing but my portuese and my pontifical. Go your way, and let be all these fantasies; for if you persevere in these erroneous opinions, ye will repent it, when you may not amend it." Forret went his way, but continued his earnest ministry till he was suddenly interrupted by a summons from Cardinal Beaton and the Bishop of Dunkeld. John Lauder, a notorious theological bully, acting as public accuser, charged him with saying "that it was not lawful for kirk-men to take their tithes, offerings, and cross-puts;" with "learning his parishioners to pray unto God the Pater Noster in English, and also teaching them the Belief and Ten Commandments in English, which is contrary to our Acts;" and with reading the Bible, "which is heresy, and makes all this plea and cumber in the holy kirk, and among the prelates thereof." Whereupon Forret replied that he had actually said "it was not lawful for kirkmen to spend the teinds and the patrimony of the kirk, as they do, on harlots and whores, delicate clothings, riotous banquetting, and wanton playing at cards and dice; and the kirk riven, and the pulpit down, and the people not instructed in God's Word, nor the Sacraments duly ministrate to them, as the scripture of

Christ commands." "Moreover," he averred, "that his parishioners and congregation were so rude and barbarous that they understood no Latin, and that he was forced, on his conscience, to teach them and learn them the words of their salvation in English." For the purpose of verifying a quotation from the writings of St. Paul to prove that it was better to "speak two words to the understanding and edification of the people, than ten thousand words in a language which they understood not," the Dean was about to pull a Bible *out of his sleeve*, when the accuser said: "Heretick, thou canst not deny but the New Testament in English is contrary to our Acts, and forbidden by the Pope, and is enough to burn thee, Thief."* Then "the Council of the clergy gave sentence on him to be burnt for using of the same book." He passed through the fiery ordeal triumphantly in March 1538, and found a home among the heroes. "After this cruelty was used in Edinburgh, upon the Castle Hill, to the effect that the rest of the Bishops might show themselves no less fervent to suppress the light of God than he of St. Andrews was, there were apprehended two in the diocese of Glasgow."

* *Pitscottie's History*, pp. 150-152. *Foxe's Acts and Monuments*, vol. V., p. 622.

These were young men of stainless character, of gentle spirit, and of fine scholarship. Jerome Russel was a Cordelier friar, "a young man," says Knox, "of a meak nature, qwyk spreat, and good letteris." For some time he had preached the Gospel in Dumfries with great earnestness and success, and had won for himself the reputation of "a well-learned man." At the instigation of the Bishops he was seized by Lord Maxwell, thrust into heavy irons, brought to Glasgow, and arraigned before Archbishop Dunbar. His companion in tribulation was Thomas Kennedy, a native of Ayr, "who passed not eighteen years of age, one of excellent injyne in Scottish poesyne." Both were faithful Christians, and displayed a beautiful Christian spirit during their trial. Russel, however, manifested greater steadfastness, courage, and dignity than his companion. But Kennedy, though at first "faint," obtained dying grace for the dying hour; and with a cheerful countenance, and a joyful voice said, upon his knees: "Thou by Thine own hand hast pulled me from the very bottom of hell, and makest me to feel that heavenly comfort which takes from me that ungodly fear wherewith before I was oppressed. Now I defy death; do what you please; I praise my God I am ready." The godly and learned

Jerome, railed upon by merciless tyrants, said: "This is your hour and the power of darkness: now sit ye as judges; and we stand wrongfully accused, and more wrongfully to be condemned; but the day shall come when our innocency shall appear, and that ye shall see your own blindness, to your everlasting confusion. Go forward and fulfil the measure of your iniquity." Beholding the youths waiting for the red crown of martyrdom, the Archbishop of Glasgow was deeply moved, and wished to spare them. But Beaton's savage and relentless inquisitors—Lauder, Oliphant, and Maltman, —turned upon him, and told him that if he did not punish the heretics he would thereby condemn the Cardinal, and injure the Church. "At which words the faithless man, afraid, adjudged the innocents to die, according to the desire of the wicked." Meanwhile Jerome Russel comforted and encouraged Kennedy with strong words of promise and of hope: "Brother, fear not; more potent is He that is in us than he that is in the world. The pain that we shall suffer is short, and shall be light; but our joy and consolation shall never have end: and therefore let us contend to enter in unto our Master and Saviour, by the same strait way which he trod before us. Death cannot destroy us; for it is destroyed already by Him for whose sake we

suffer." And then they passed to the place of execution, in front of the Cathedral of Glasgow, "and constantly triumphed over death and Satan, even in the midst of the flaming fire." *

But while these men were honoured to wear the imperishable crown of martyrdom, and impelled to lay down their lives on the sacrificial altar for the cause of truth and liberty, there were many who only escaped the fires of persecution by seeking an asylum in England and in continental countries. We can only mention the most illustrious of these fugitives.† Alexander Alane, or Alesius, a Canon of St. Andrews, who had been converted to Protestantism in attempting to reclaim Patrick Hamilton, roused the suspicions of the dignitaries of the Church by censuring the vices of the Clergy in a Latin oration, delivered before the Ecclesiastical Synod, and was flung into prison in 1531. After a year's confinement, he escaped to Frankfort in Germany, but on the invitation of Cromwell he returned to England in 1535, and occupied the Chair of Theology at Cambridge for some time. Returning to Germany in 1540, he was ap-

* *Knox's History of the Reformation*, vol. I., pp. 65, 66.

† The best accounts of the exiles are to be found in David Laing's appendix to *Knox's History*, in the Notes at the end of M'Crie's *Life of Knox*, and in Lorimer's *Precursors of Knox*.

pointed Professor of Divinity at Leipzig, where he wrote Commentaries on the Psalms, on the Gospel of St. John, on the Epistle to the Romans, and the Pastoral Epistles, and laboured with untiring industry till 1565, when he died, crowned with honours. John Macalpine, or Maccabaeus, Prior of the Dominican Monastery at Perth, had identified himself with the Lutheran cause about 1534; and when the fierce fires of persecution were kindled he fled to England, and sought a quiet sanctuary at Salisbury. Nicolas Shaxton, the Bishop of Salisbury, received him kindly, and presented him to a Canonry in his splendid Cathedral in 1538. Eventually he went to Wittenberg, where he was honoured with the friendship of Luther and Melanchthon; and at their recommendation he proceeded to Denmark, accepted the Chair of Theology in the University of Copenhagen, and by his sagacity, piety, learning, and strenuous efforts to place the reformed religion on a solid basis, won the esteem and affection of Christian the Second. John Mackdowal, sub-Prior of the Black Friars' Monastery, Glasgow, was a prudent, scholarly, and godly man; and, like Macalpine, he fled from the bloody hand of the persecutor, and found a refuge within the diocese of the good Bishop of Salisbury. Shaxton generously wel-

comed him, appointed him one of his chaplains, and set him in the Cathedral pulpit to assail the doctrine of the Pope's supremacy. From England he went in 1540 to Holland, where "he was elected Burgomaster of one of the *Stadts*." About 1538, John Mackbriar or Mackbray, Canon of Glenluce in Galloway, "forsook the country for religion, and became a preacher in the English Church; but in the time of Queen Mary's persecution he fled to Frankfort, and served the English congregation as Minister." At a later period he became pastor of a congregation in Lower Germany, but on the accession of Queen Elizabeth he returned to England, and died Vicar of the Church of St. Nicholas in Newcastle, in 1584. In *Strype's Annals* he is described as "an eminent exile," and Bale states that he was the author of several works, and "wrote elegantly in Latin." In the same year, Sir Robert Richardson, "a Canon-Regular and Sacrist of the Holy Cross," St. Andrews, in 1520, and a Canon of Cambuskenneth Abbey on the Forth, in 1530, fled to England for fear of persecution. Being a distinguished scholar and an eloquent preacher he was despatched by Henry VIII. to Scotland in 1543, and commended to the Regent Arran, when he was favourably disposed to the work of reformation. Bent

on promoting the new movement, the Regent appointed Richardson to preach throughout the kingdom, and, according to the English ambassador, he did his work "very honestly and diligently." But as soon as the wily Cardinal vanquished the Regent, and dragged him into his net, Richardson was compelled by the threatening thunderstorm to abandon his evangelical work in Scotland, and to escape a second time into England.

Robert Logie, another Canon Regular of Cambuskenneth, and the instructor of the novices; and Thomas Cocklaw, Vicar of Tullibody, had likewise embraced the new sentiments; and both accompanied Richardson to England, where they remained for many years and preached the Gospel in all its simplicity and purity.

George Buchanan, the distinguished Latin poet, and historian, the tutor of princes, and the friend of kings, had espoused the cause of Reformation, and satirized the brotherhood of St. Francis in severe and polished language. Regarded with implacable hatred by the Roman Catholic clergy the king himself was unable to shield him from their fury, and he was captured and thrown into the prison of St. Andrews in 1539. While the keepers slept he fortunately managed to creep through

the narrow window of the dungeon, and fled into France, where he resided till the Reformed Church was firmly established. Sir John Borthwick of Cinery, a gentleman and soldier of immense erudition, was accused in 1540 of propagating heretical opinions, and of having in his possession such heretical books as "the New Testament in English, Oecolampadius, Melanchthon, and several treatises of Erasmus." In his absence he was condemned by the Cardinal, excommunicated, and burnt in effigy, and dispossessed of all his lands. Sir Alexander Seyton, youngest son of the Laird of Touch and Tullibody, in Stirlingshire, a Dominican friar, and confessor to King James V., was an eloquent evangelical preacher, and a famous scholar. Throughout a whole Lenten season he preached the pure doctrines of grace with remarkable power at St. Andrews, and denounced the bishops as dumb dogs. Highly indignant at the bold Dominican, Beaton traduced and maligned him, and when Seyton saw that the king's countenance fell, and that the bishops were leagued against him, he escaped to England, where he found employment as domestic chaplain to the Duke of Suffolk.

About the same time another illustrious reformer crossed the Border. Few Scottish names

are more worthy of remembrance than that of John Willock. An Ayrshire man, and a friar,* Willock appears to have imbibed at an early period the spirit and the principles of the Lollards of the West. Dreading martyrdom he escaped to London, and soon obtained great celebrity as a preacher in the church of St. Katherine Colman's.† Able, grave, and learned, he succeeded Seyton as chaplain to the Duke of Suffolk, and returned to his native land in 1558. During the decisive struggle for Reformation he played a great and honourable part. Than Willock no minister was more beloved and admired by Knox, the captain of the conquering host, and certainly few proved more serviceable to him when the battle raged most furiously. Full of courage, he stood his ground, and encouraged the army of reformers in the "gray metropolis of the north," when the hero-champion had to withdraw from the field. And he lived to share the honour and the glory of final

* Bishop Lesly says he was a Dominican friar; Spottiswoode says he was a Franciscan friar in the town of Ayr.

† When Queen Mary ascended the English throne, and the fires of persecution blazed, Willock fled to the city of Embden, in the province of East Friesland, in Westphalia, where he practised as a physician. Between the years 1555 and 1558 he paid two visits to Edinburgh as the envoy of the Countess of Friesland to the Queen Regent of Scotland.—*Scott's Reformers,* pp. 54-57.

victory with Knox, and to undertake the work of planting and fostering the Reformed Church in Ayrshire. As the "Superintendent of the West," he rendered invaluable services to the Church. The people loved, trusted and revered him. He was regarded as the most distinguished and able man in the shire. The descendants of the Lollards counted him greater than Knox, and described him as "the Primate of their religion in the Scottish realm."

Such are some of the more eminent persons who embraced the principles of evangelical Protestantism, and suffered for their convictions, before John Knox sounded the trumpet that shook the foundations of the Papal Church, and rallied round his standard the noblest and best in the land, to fight the battle of religious freedom.

It is notable that Dundee and Stirling, intimately connected with the Abbeys of St. Andrews and Cambuskenneth, stand out conspicuously as the homes of the early clerical martyrs and reformers. And it is equally interesting to observe that the districts of Angus and Mearns, on the East coast, and the shires of Galloway and Ayr, in the West of Scotland, contained the greater number of the small proprietors who espoused the new opinions. Nor is it difficult to account for these striking facts.

By means of the Frith of Forth and the Frith of Tay, Stirling and Dundee were constantly brought into contact with continental life, and at the period of the German Reformation the inhabitants could not escape the healthful and invigorating influences of the strong tide of Lutheran opinion. And when we know that some of the Professors in St. Andrews, and one or two of the greatest of the Abbots of Cambuskenneth were enlightened and liberal men, sympathetic with the Humanistic and Religious Revival on the continent of Europe, it is not difficult to understand how many people about them fell under their spell and disseminated the new doctrines. Then the West of Scotland "was an ancient receptacle of God's truth," and while the Lollard fires slumbered godly men never died out. Moreover, the Earl of Glencairn, on his return from England, where he had come under the influence of Cranmer, seems to have fanned the fires that slumbered in his native district into a blaze. In Angus and Mearns, John Erskine of Dun, was the great torch-bearer and lamp-lighter. At an early age he had travelled into Germany, formed a friendship with the Reformers, and returned to Scotland "marvellously illuminated for those times." To him the Wisharts of Pitarrow, the

Melvilles of Baldovy and Dysart, the Stratouns of Laurieston and Whitstoun, were indebted for the light of life and the Protestant principles which impelled them, in the face of persecution and death, to witness a good confession for Christ, and nerved two of them to accept the crown of martyrdom. And their fiery crown, like the old fiery cross, not only illumined their native district, but roused the hearts of all good and honest men, and stimulated them to wage a war against Papal tyranny, and to prosecute it with unflinching courage till their efforts were crowned with victory.

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THE LAST OF THE STRATOUNS.

III

DAWN OF THE REFORMATION

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The Protestant Reformation of the sixteenth century was one of the most remarkable and beneficent events in the History of Christendom. Indeed it is impossible to overestimate its importance as a great movement in the direction of Human Progress and Improvement, as a powerful impulse for the emancipation of the mind, and as the principle agent of conversion to liberty of man's soul, and aiming at the recognition of the supremacy of the Word of God, the priesthood of all genuine believers and of the supreme and absolute efficacy of the work of Redemption, regarded as the ground of salvation. I view the Reformation simply as a [illegible]

THE LAST OF THE STRATOUNS

III.

DAVID STRATOUN OF WHITSTOUN.

"They never fail who die
In a great cause! The block may soak their gore;
Their heads may sodden in the sun; their limbs
Be strung to city gates and castle walls;
But still their spirit walks abroad. Though years
Elapse, and others share as dark a doom,
They but augment the deep and sweeping thoughts
Which overpower all others, and conduct
The world at last, to Freedom."

— *Byron.*

THE Religious Reformation during the sixteenth century was one of the most fruitful and beneficent events in the History of Scotland. Indeed, it is impossible to exaggerate its importance as a great movement in the direction of Human Progress—as a movement making for the emancipation of the mind, and the enthronement of conscience as king of man's soul, and aiming at the recognition of the supremacy of the Word of God, of the priesthood of all genuine believers, and of the complete and absolute efficacy of the work of Redemption, regarded as the ground of salvation. To view the Reformation simply as a *reformation*

of discipline is to underestimate its importance, and to misapprehend its real significance. Unquestionably the Reformation *was* a grand protest against the abuses and corruptions of the Roman Catholic Church, and a noble vindication of the rights of private judgment against the crushing and degrading tyranny of a priestly Hierarchy ; and, as a matter of fact, reformers like Wycliffe, Luther, and Knox, effected a great ecclesiastical purgation, and made a heroic stand for freedom, clarifying and sweetening the ecclesiastical atmosphere, heightening the standard of holy living, and by deepening the sense of personal responsibility to God, lifted men to a loftier moral platform. But the Reformation was far more than a resolute protest against the errors, superstitions, and vices of the Papacy. It was an Evangelical Revival of a deep and broad character, and the result of a determined effort on the part of newly enlightened and terribly earnest men to reconstruct the Church on the lines of Apostolical simplicity and purity; to substitute the unadulterated Word of God for ecclesiastical tradition and authority; to supplant the Sacrificial Altar by the pulpit and the Gospel preacher; penances and pilgrimages, protracted vigils, and the pains of purgatory by the vicarious atone-

ment of the Divine Redeemer; to displace the mechanical doctrine of the Sacraments by the scriptural doctrine of the indwelling of the Holy Spirit; and to destroy priestcraft in every form by giving due prominence to the "One Mediator between God and man, the man Christ Jesus," and His continual intercession. Hence the Reformation was not a superficial movement, but one of the deepest, noblest, and most radical. It sprang out of profound and strong convictions wrought in the souls of sorrowful men by the Spirit of God; and just because the leaders of the movement,—feeling that the living God alone could satisfy their hungry souls and quench the longings of their thirsty spirits,—were earnestly endeavouring to get straight back to Him, they steadily aimed at the removal of every obstacle that hindered communion, whether pretentious priest, glorified saint, gorgeous image, or meritorious service, and at the unearthing and exaltation of those doctrines of grace commonly identified with Evangelical Christianity.

The truth is, the Reformation was a Spiritual Awakening, crowned by a glorious Resurrection. After the long, dreary, winter of Mediævalism, smiling spring appeared with her vitalizing forces, and warm generous impulses; and just as

vernal life in Nature pushes off the crisp brown leaves that have survived the biting frosts of winter, and bursts old bonds and leaps forth into glorious liberty, making the wilderness blossom as the rose, so the Spirit of God working in human souls threw off the corruptions of the cold dead Church, broke the fetters of Ritualism and Superstition, and piled up in all the joyous freedom of a fresh creative Power, a beautiful spiritual temple, majestic in its simplicity, and lustrous in its purity. And no class of men did more to further the new movement than the martyrs and confessors, fired with evangelical zeal and enthusiasm, and emboldened by the Spirit of Truth. They died indeed to deepen its life and to give it permanency. With truth and beauty, it has been said, that the pillars of the Evangelical Church of Scotland were planted in the graves of the Martyrs.

One of the earliest witnesses for the Faith, on the East coast of Scotland, was David Stratoun of Whitstoun * or Woodstone, in the Mearns ; and he appears in history not only as a staunch protester against the rapacity of the Roman Churchmen of

* Whitstoun house stands among some fine old trees on the hill-face, about a mile west of Laurieston Castle, and commands a noble view of the German Ocean, while it almost overlooks the village of St. Cyrus.

his time, but as a convert to Evangelical Christianity, and a devout student of the Holy Scriptures. He belonged to an ancient and honourable family of the Anglo-Saxon name of Stratton, or Stratoun, that flourished for about four centuries in the seaboard parish of Ecclescreig * or Saint Cyrus, lying at the south-eastern extremity of Kincardineshire. *Alexandre de Stratton* is the first distinguished member of the family of whom we have any authentic knowledge. Possessing the lands of Glenchungole and the Burgh Mill of Glenbervie, he seems to have been a gentleman of considerable political influence, and of good social position. To King Edward the First he swore fealty at Aberdeen on the 15th of July, 1296, and he was present at the famous Parliament which met in the great Abbey of Arbroath in 1320, and, under the brave and chivalrous Bruce, vindicated the rights and liberties of the Scottish people. It is impossible to tell precisely when the Stratouns obtained possession of the beautiful and picturesque

* *Ecclescreig* means the church of Ciric or Cyricus, who was king of the Picts in 877. William the Lion granted the Church-lands of Ecclescreig, with the chapel of Saint Rule, and all the serfs on the ground, to the monks of St. Andrews.

The ancient church occupied a romantic site on the shore, at the foot of the highest rocks, locally called *the Steeples*, and here the parishioners worshipped till 1632.

lands and fortress of Laurieston ; but it is unquestionable that *Alexander Straton de Laurenston* fell with many noble knights and stalwart burgesses of Forfar, Kincardine, and Aberdeen, at the disastrous battle of Harlaw, at the roots of the Grampians, in 1411, which effectually checked the progress of the Highland host, bent on pillaging the homesteads and harassing the inhabitants of the Lowland districts of Angus and Mearns. The old ballad, describing the decisive battle, particularly mentions "the stalwart laird of Laurieston," and pathetically bewails his sudden death as a grievous loss.

> "And then the knicht of Laurieston
> Was slain in his armour schene."

During the sixteenth century the Stratouns of Laurieston were one of the most powerful families in the shire ; and some of the members exerted a beneficent influence in the Councils of Church and State. Sir George sat in Parliament for the county, and championed the cause of Reformation. Sir Alexander proved himself a statesman of great wisdom, enlightenment, and tact, and stood so high in the estimation of his countrymen and his king that he was appointed one of the Commissioners

for promoting the union of Scotland and England, and Royal Commissioner to the memorable General Assembly of the Church of Scotland convened at Aberdeen in 1605. In recognition of his valuable and prolonged services to the State, "the blench deutie" of the Lordship of Scone, amounting to one thousand merks annually, was assigned to Alexander.* But if the Laurieston family gave politicians to the State it likewise gave ministers to the Church. At the beginning of the sixteenth century several Stratouns filled parochial cures in the vicinity of the place of their nativity. *Master Walter Stratone* was Rector of Dunottar, and on the resignation of Robert Martyn, in 1502, he was presented by the Abbot of Arbroath to the Vicarage of Garvock. In 1508 *Master Gilbert Straton* was Vicar of the parish of *Innerkelor*, in Forfarshire, and he appears to have resided for many years in the old vicarage, commanding a fine view of the valley of the Lunan.†

The old Castle of Laurieston obtained its name

* See Jervise's *Memorials of Angus and Mearns.* New Stat. Account of Kincardineshire, p. 283. Reg. de Panmure MSS. I. 241.

† In the *Black Register of Arbroath* the Stratouns are also designed of Criggy or Cragy and Rynde, pp. 115, 208. For notices of the ministers see the *Reg. Nig.*, pp. 343, 371.

from St. Laurence, the patron of the Church that once stood at Chapelfield; and it occupied a charming position in the romantic and idyllic dell of Finella, in the parish of Ecclescreig, about seven miles north-east of Montrose. Nothing of any importance, save a picturesque square tower and battlements, hoary with years, and rising from the verge of a rugged and shelving rock in the deep-wooded ravine, and a few fragments of an ancient Chapel, connect the modern mansion of Laurieston with the "old fortress," and the beloved home of the Stratouns of famous memory.

In this ancient house, David Stratoun, the Martyr, was born about the beginning of the sixteenth century. His father, *Alexander Stratoun de Lauranstoun* (of the Barony of Stratoun), and his mother, Agnes Ogilvy, were alive in 1509, as appears from the Register of the Great Seal; and his elder brother, Andrew Stratoun, with Isobel Lindsay, his spouse, and George, their son and heir, occupied Laurieston in 1539.* As a younger son, David Stratoun inherited the small property of Whitstoun, adjoining the estate of Laurieston, and settled there, combining the occupations of

* See Laing's Notes to *Knox's History of the Reformation*, Vol. I., pp. 58, 59.

gentleman-farmer and salmon-fisher.* He seems also to have possessed some property in the Muraygate of Dundee, for the Lord Treasurer's Book, preserved in the Register House, Edinburgh, contains an entry, from which we learn, that on the 10th March, 1538, the King granted a tenement, which had fallen to him on the death of "David Stratoun, in Quhitstoun, condemned for certain heretical crimes," to David Gardyne and Mariote Erskyn.†

The Stratouns, says the old Statistical Account of the Parish of St. Cyrus, "were a race of men remarkable for size and strength;" they were a broad-featured, large-limbed family, with brown

* The Rev. George Anderson of St. Cyrus, informs me that "Whitstone is still the *common* name for Woodstone, and that the estate embraces part of St. Cyrus village, including the Church with the Braes and Fishings. . . . The Fishings would go with the Property, and are very valuable. It was at the mouth of the river (the North Esk), opposite the Kirkside portion of the Property that the famous scene took place. Kirkside is a continuation of Woodstone, and has always been in the possession of the Straiton Family. Its Fishings, lying at the mouth of the river, bring a greater revenue than the Land."

† "Et de xx^{li} in completam solutionem compositionis vinius tenementi jacen. infra burgum de Dunde, pertin. domino Regi per decessum David Straitoun in *Quhitstoun*, justificati ad mortem pro certis crimínibus heresieos concess. Dauid Garne et Mariote Erskyn. Compot. Thesaur."

hair and blue eyes; just and upright, stubborn and passionate, resolute of purpose, invincible in energy, and, withal, kindly and lovable. Nor did David Stratoun belie the character of his ancestors. He was indeed a typical Stratoun, and a true son of the Mearns.* Of a remarkably robust physical frame, of strong masculine intellect, of a hot temper, and a rough and ready humour, he was a formidable man, although almost entirely ignorant of book-lore, and inclined to treat fine scholars and their classical attainments with something like contemptuous scorn. A sort of gentleman-farmer, and the owner of a salmon-fishery, he constantly mixed and mingled with the rude hinds and illiterate fishermen he employed, and consequently grew not unlike them in their habits and tastes. Nominally attached to the Roman Church, offering no opposition to its common dogmas, he, nevertheless, manifested no vital interest in religion, had no firm grasp of the fundamental doctrines of Christianity, and rather despised the

* The ancient name of the county of Kincardine is probably derived from Mermia (brother of Kenneth the second), the Mormiar of the district.

The familiar phrase, "Men o' the Mearns," has long been used in the county to denote men of energy and strength; and hence the proverb—"I can dae fat I dou: the men o' the Mearns can dae nae mair."

priests as greedy sheep-shearers of the great sheep-master at Rome. Destitute of religious convictions, blind to spiritual realities, and all unconcerned about personal salvation, he deliberately avoided the company of the godly, and despised the reading of devotional books. He was, in short, a man of the world, "living at ease in Zion." But this man of iron will, of free and reckless spirit, and of worldly life, was destined, like Augustine and Bunyan and John Newton, to pass through deep and dark spiritual experiences, and to enter the Kingdom of God as a little child. A time came when He who is "wonderful in counsel and excellent in working" vouchsafed him a vision of sin, of judgment, and of eternity; and the strong man was brought low. Clouds and thick darkness enwrapped his drooping, bleeding spirit, and a heavy crushing burden of guilt lay on his conscience, and like an eagle with broken wing, or with an arrow rankling in his heart, he concealed himself among the ragged rocks, and pined and mourned. But at last God spake the great word of forgiveness, and laid His healing hand upon him; the morning broke and the shadows fled away, and crowned with loving-kindness and tender mercies, he emerged from the solitudes, witnessed a good confession for Christ before many witnesses, and

then, as on the fiery wing of the Seraphim, he mounted into the clear sunlight of the Eternal Presence.

The influences that operated in favour of David Stratoun's conversion were of a peculiar nature, and sprang out of the relations subsisting between the proprietor of a fishery and the occupant of an ecclesiastical benefice. For many centuries the fisheries established along the coast of the parish of St. Cyrus have been very valuable, and some indeed have yielded more money than the lands to which they are attached. We have no means of estimating the exact value of these fisheries in ancient times, but in 1837 the proprietors of the estates in the parish obtained the sum of £2991 for their fishings in the sea and in the North Esk river. And from a Report read in the House of Commons it appears that no fewer than three hundred fish—salmon, grilse, and trout—were caught in one day in July 1835.

Even in pre-Reformation times the fisheries belonging to the estates of Whitstoun and Kirkside were sufficiently important to interest a small proprietor like David Stratoun, and to attract the attention of the Vicar of Ecclescreig. We cannot tell with what success Stratoun prosecuted the fishing, but we know that

Master Robert Lawson, as the Vicar of the Parish, and factor for Patrick Hepburn, the dissolute and voluptuous Prior of St. Andrews, demanded a tithe or tenth of all the fish captured by the Laird of Whitstoun's hired servants. Stratoun was indignant at what he regarded as an unjust exaction, and at first peremptorily refused to accede to Lawson's demand. Already prejudiced against the churchmen, whom he looked upon as hirelings and weaklings, he now began to hate them and defy them. The Laird of Laurieston, however, was more politic and cautious than his younger brother. He knew the terrible power wielded by the clergy in the days of James the Fifth, when the nobles were stript of their influence ; and he urged David to comply with their demands notwithstanding its glaring injustice. He thought it better to part with the choicest temporal possessions than to run the risk of excommunication and death,—better to fling all the fish of the sea into the Prior's drag-net than to expose oneself to the priest's anathema, to the hangman's noose, and the fiery furnace. But, like many headstrong and determined men, infuriated by a sense of oppression and wrong, the Laird of Whitstoun would not listen to the wholesome advice of his sagacious brother. Sitting sullenly in the Castle of Laurie-

ston he drank "a cup of good French wine," and after musing awhile he sprang to his feet. A happy thought had flashed across his brain. He had solved the difficulty of the hour, but with all the perverse ingenuity of an unconquerable heretic. He would, indeed, pay the teind to the rapacious ecclesiastics, but *on the very ground where he got the stock.* Forthwith he instructed old Hugh Peters and his boatmen to cast every tenth fish caught into the sea, at the river's mouth, and then told Robert Lawson, the Vicar, that if the Prior insisted on rigorously exacting the fish-teind he must arrange to receive it on the spot where the harvest of the sea was gathered in.*

The voice of local tradition affirms that the fishermen were prosecuting their work at the mouth of the North Esk river, among the gravel banks and sandy shallows, when Stratoun spoke

* "The Bishop of Murray (then being prior of Sanctandross) and his factouris, urged him for the teind thairof. His answer was, if they wald haif teynd of that which his servandis wane in the sea, it war but reassoun that thei should come and receive it whare hie gatt the stock; and so, as was constantlye affirmed, he caused his servandis cast the tenth fische in the sea agane."—*Knox's Hist.*, Vol. I. p. 58.

"And because, when Master Robert Lawson, vicar of Ecclesgrig, asked his tithe-fish of him, he did cast them to him out of the boat, so that some of them fell into the sea; therefore he accused him, as one that should have said that no tithes should be paid."—*Foxe's Acts and Monuments*, Vol. IV., p. 579.

the grimly jocular word that heralded his dreadful doom. And it is of some interest to learn that at this day* numerous salmon-nets may be seen drying on the rough bent and golden broom and whin which grow profusely around the romantic and lonely churchyard on the shore, where the descendants of the Martyr lie at rest; and that the last of the Stratouns can still survey from the door of Kirkside House, perched on the top of the cliffs, the old pre-Reformation scene almost unchanged.

When David Stratoun's reply reached the haughty and vindictive Hepburn at St. Andrews his anger was kindled, and he proceeded to excommunicate the defiant man of the Mearns. "Process of cursing," says Knox, "was led against him, for non-payment of such teinds; which when he contemned, he was delated to answer for heresy." In Mediæval times cursing was considered among the heaviest of Church censures, excluding people, as it did, from all the privileges of the Church, and consigning them to the hands of the devil. But it was by no means an uncommon punishment reserved for great and incorrigible sinners. Even those who had "tynt a spurtill," "stollin ane flaill from them beyound the burne," or "tynt a horne spune," were

* June, 1885.

cursed on Sundays from the parish pulpits. Nor were "ecclesiastical persons exempted from such censures." In 1533-4, the Abbot of Melrose, and the Lady Prioress of North Berwick and Eccles, were cursed for non-payment of their taxes. Of course the frequency with which the process was served on people for trifling offences and delinquencies robbed it of its terror, and fostered contempt for it. And there is good reason for believing that it was not simply the Prior's cursing, but the threat to arraign him for heresy that clouded the brow of David Stratoun, and rendered him grave and serious and devout. "Delated to answer for heresy," writes the historian of the Reformation, "he was troubled vehemently, and therefore began to frequent the company of such as were godly; for before he had been a man very stubborn, and one that despised all reading (chiefly of those things that were godly), but miraculously, as it were, he appeared to be changed." Conscience-stricken and depressed in spirit, the turbulent and scornful man became an anxious inquirer concerning the way of life and peace. In his distinguished neighbour, John Erskine of Dun, and in his nephew, George Stratoun, he found sympathetic friends and wise guides. Erskine himself had in his youth exhibited a violent tem-

per, slain a priest in a brawl in the bell-tower of the church of Montrose, and fled to the Continent. Haunted by fear, and burdened with grief, he had sought the society of the leading Reformers in Germany and in France, embraced evangelical opinions, and entered upon a life of piety. Henceforth he always manifested the keenest interest in the propagation of the new doctrines that had consoled him in his sore trouble. For this purpose he encouraged the importation of English Bibles from the Low Countries, and the teaching of the Greek language in the Grammar School of Montrose. As for George Stratoun, son and heir of the Laird of Laurieston, he was an enthusiastic disciple of Luther. He had studied at St. Andrews, and he had drunk at St. Leonard's life-giving spring. The Laird of Dun and young Laurieston* were thus admirably fitted to act as evangelical masters in the school of Christ; and David Stratoun sat humbly at their feet while they read the Holy Scriptures in the English tongue, and expounded the glorious

* It is clear from Knox's account that *George Stratoun*, son and heir of Andrew, was the instructor of David Stratoun. "Upoun a day, as the lard of Lowristoun, *that yit lyveth*, then being ane young man, &c.," says Knox. Now the "History of the Reformation" was not commenced before 1559, and *George* Stratoun was laird of Laurieston in 1547, and survived till 1576, as appears from the Register of the Great Seal.

doctrines of grace.* The reading of the New Testament was like the opening of Heaven to him. The story of the Saviour's life and passion filled him with wonderment; and the Pauline doctrines of justification by faith alone, and the vicarious atonement of Christ, brought the peace and joy of early summer into his soul. To him the Word of God was a priceless treasure, "more to be desired than gold, yea, than much fine gold; sweeter also than honey and the honeycomb." "He delighted in nothing but in reading (albeit himself could not read), and was a vehement exhorter of all men to concord, to quietness, and to the contempt of the world." In the *History of the Reformation* the greatest of Scotsmen introduces a touching little episode, affording us a glimpse into Stratoun's inner life when the clear light was shining after the rain, and the old order had yielded place to the new. Two men appear upon the scene, "a certain quiet place in the fields," adjoining Whitstoun. The one is a strong volcanic yoeman, of the better sort, somewhat rough and unkempt in outward appearance, but wonderfully mellowed and refined by the purifying influence of

* "He frequented much the company of the Laird of Dun, whom God in those days had marvellously illuminated."—*Knox's Hist.*, Vol. I. p. 59.

the Gospel, and the spirit of Christ; the other is a young gentleman, polished and cultivated for the times, morally earnest, bent on promoting liberal religious opinions, and forwarding the cause of Reformation in the Mearns.

Far away from the tumults of society and the busy haunts of men, the young scholar proceeds to read the New Testament in English to his converted relative. He selects the eighth chapter of St. Mark's Gospel, containing the great passage in which the Master foretells His rejection by the chief priests and scribes, and enforces the duty of patient and courageous suffering in persecution for the Truth, by the consideration that fidelity alone ensures the Saviour's royal welcome, and the immortal crown on the day of final retribution. And when he has read aloud the striking sentences, breathing of battle: "Whosoever will come after me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross. . . . Whosoever shall lose his life for my sake and the Gospel's, the same shall save it. . . Whosoever shall be ashamed of me and of my words in this adulterous and sinful generation, of him shall the Son of Man be ashamed, when he cometh in the glory of his Father, with the holy angels," it is evident that the solemn, severe, and pointed words have, like arrows, transfixed his

uncle's heart. Greatly agitated and excited, David Stratoun appeared for a moment "as one ravished;" then he cast himself upon his knees, and extending both hands and visage constantly to heaven a reasonable time, burst forth in these words: "O Lord, I have been wicked, and justly may Thou extract thy grace from me. But, Lord, for thy mercy's sake, let me never deny thee, nor thy truth, for fear of death, or corporal pain." The die was cast, the great decision was made: the disciple was ready to follow his Master to Calvary! This touching scene in the field reminds us of one still more famous in the garden at Milan, when Augustine the Rhetorican, hovering, as it were, between Heaven and Hell, heard the mysterious voice, "Tolle, lege; Tolle, lege:" Take up and read; Take up and read. And then, rushing to the side of Alypius, seized the Book lying beneath the fig-tree, and read with tearful emotion the passage in the Epistle to the Romans: "The night is far spent, the day is at hand: let us therefore cast off the works of darkness, and let us put on the armour of light. Let us walk honestly as in the day; not in rioting and drunkenness, not in chambering and wantonness, not in strife and envying. But put ye on the Lord Jesus Christ, and make not provision for the flesh,"—words that pierced his

soul and stuck fast there, till he broke with a sensual and enthralling world, and with a heroism worthy of one of Hannibal's Invincibles, fought the good fight of faith, and died with his armour on. Like "the Doctor of Grace" David Stratoun made the great decision beneath the open canopy of heaven, as soon as he was illuminated and quickened by the Word of God. And he made the decision not a day too soon. The day of fiery trial was at hand. When he prayed for moral courage he was praying unwittingly for dying grace. The grace he sought was obtained as "the issue declared." Already the persecutor stood at the door of Whitstoun, and a fire was being kindled at Edinburgh to frighten Lutheran heretics.

Meanwhile Scotland was quiet, but the young King James was in the hands of the Beatons and the chief priests. Having quarrelled with the nobles the king was compelled to ally himself with the ecclesiastics for the purpose of carrying on the business of the State, and securing the support of Francis, and the French. Possessing the king's favour the Papists enlisted the royal influence in a determined attempt to stamp out Protestantism. To rivet their hold on the king while they resorted to desperate measures for suppressing heretics they coaxed and flattered him. They

promised him promotion to the proud position of Defender of the Faith, forfeited by his schismatical uncle, Henry of England. The Pope bestowed upon him his benediction, and despatched "a cross and sword, consecrated on the night of the nativity of our Saviour," as a reward "of his valour, and many Christian virtues." Thus flattered and surrounded by the Roman clergy, who acted as his counsellors and guides, James became a servile son of the Papal Church, and carried out their cruellest behests, "more perhaps from political views than from his native superstition." *

Forthwith the most conspicuous Lutherans in the land were summoned before an ecclesiastical council held in Holyrood, Edinburgh, in August 1534. Among others, James Hamilton, Sheriff of Linlithgow (brother of Patrick Hamilton the Martyr), and his sister Catherine, dreading death, escaped into England. But Master Norman Gourlay and David Stratoun promptly appeared to answer the charges laid against them. King James, "clad in scarlet," James Hay, Bishop of Ross, acting as the Commissioner of James Beaton, Archbishop of St. Andrews, and John Spence, lawyer, were the principal prosecutors present in the Abbey Church.

* *Pinkerton's History*, Vol. II. p. 329.

Norman Gourlay was charged with denying the existence of Purgatory, and teaching that the Pope was not a true Bishop, and had no jurisdiction in Scotland; and curiously enough David Stratoun was accused of holding and inculcating similar opinions, "with saying there was no purgatory, but the passion of Christ, and the tribulations of the world . . and that no tithes should be paid." Both men were repeatedly and urgently entreated to recant and abjure their Lutheran opinions, and to burn their bill as a token of penitence unfeigned. But both stood firm as anvils against every attack.* Believing that the Roman dogma of Purgatory was utterly unscriptural; that purification by suffering, after death had fixed character, was impossible; and that the anguish of Gethsemane and Calvary, and the fiery discipline of life, were the only true Purgatory, they stood steadfast and immovable, and quitted them like strong men. To them, as to us, Purgatory was an unknown and ghostly territory, which the Pope had annexed to his ecclesiastical dominions for the purpose of frightening the

* "Upoun the xxvj day of August Mr. Normond Goorlay wes first abjurit, syne callit, and thairefter degradit for heresie; and ane David Strathque wald not objure, bot was constant, who was brynt with the said Normond."—*Diurnal of Occurrents*, pp. 18, 19.

timid and superstitious, and of extorting from the simple and sympathetic fees for masses, supposed to be the only means of deliverance from realms of suffering and misery. And to them, as to their spiritual children, the Pope himself was an audacious usurper, destitute of all genuine claims to be regarded as the Vicar of Christ, and of all moral right to overrule kings, to trample freedom under foot, and to levy taxes for purely selfish ends, without the consent of the people, or in defiance of their revealed will. What right had the Pope or any man to interfere with a brother's religious opinions and convictions when they did not disturb the peace or endanger the safety of the State? What right had the Roman High Priest, or his representatives, to compel a salmon-fisher or his servants, to tithe the fish caught in the river and in the sea, to which none can have any real proprietory title? Certainly the dogma of Purgatory had no root in Scripture, and if the Jews gave a tenth of all they possessed for religious purposes, that was no sound reason for compelling a Christian to contribute a single mite for the maintenance of a corrupt priesthood.

But while David Stratoun "stood most constantly to the defence of the truth, and gave great encouragement to Norman Gourlay," his fellow-

sufferer, "he alleged that he had not offended" in refusing to pay tithes, as he had only insisted on the Churchmen receiving them where the stock was taken. Great efforts were made by the King and Bishops to get Stratoun to recant, but all in vain. So "in the end he was adjudged unto the fire," and sentenced to death by the Bishop of Ross. Perceiving his awfully solemn position—realizing that he was a fisherman on the shore of eternity, and in immediate danger of being pushed among the breakers, "he asked grace of the King," and James would readily have granted his request if he had been his own master. But here again the professedly religious men, the pharisaical priests, exhibited a temper more savage and relentless than Pilate, and they actually rebuked James for his clemency. Proudly the Bishops declared that the "King's hands were bound in the case, and that he had no grace to give to such as by their leave were condemned." Thus Stratoun and the King alike were silenced and confounded, and the executioners commanded to do their work. The lands of Greenside, lying at the foot of Calton Hill, on the way to Leith, had been granted by James the Second to the citizens of Edinburgh "for holding public sports and tournaments," and hanging criminals of the blackest

sort. Here the funeral pyre was erected "to the intent," says John Foxe, "that the inhabitants of Fife, seeing the fire might be struck with terror and fear, and not to fall into the like heresies." After dinner, on the twenty-seventh day of August 1534, Gourlay and Stratoun were conducted from Holyrood Palace to the Cross of Greenside, "and there they were both hanged and burned according to the mercy of the Papistical Kirk."

So died David Stratoun, the first man of his order who suffered for the cause of Reformation in Scotland. He was unquestionably a Martyr for the truth of God. He had violated no law of his country, he had injured no man, he had done nothing worthy of bonds; and yet he was treated by Roman prelates with inhuman barbarity. Like a man he had ventured to stand erect, to think and act for himself, to obey the sovereign dictates of conscience and the Word of God; and because he happened to differ in his opinions from the representatives of the Roman Church they denied him the privilege of life. Nay, they were guilty of the atrocious cruelty of thrusting him into Purgatory and its awful torments, and of keeping him there, when they might have liberated him by saying a few Paternosters and chanting some cheap masses! The intolerance, the inhumanity of the

Papal church "has made countless thousands mourn," and surely charity, loving-kindness, and tender mercy are as true marks of the Church of Christ as either purity or universality.

From all that history relates concerning David Stratoun we are fully warranted in affirming that he died unjustly at the hands of persecuting priests. But he died like a hero, and "a portion of his spirit" fell upon George Wishart, his friend and neighbour, who fought the battle of freedom right nobly, and leavened the people of Scotland with those evangelical principles which undermine the thrones of tyrants. Let it be ours, then, to cultivate the spirit of toleration, the large, loving, gracious spirit of Him who did not break the bruised reed nor quench the smoking flax. Whatever our religious opinions or convictions be, let us respect the beliefs of all honest and earnest men; and when called into the field of controversy let us scorn every carnal weapon, and wield the sword of the Spirit, and the hammer of Truth. But while breathing the free and generous spirit of toleration, let us cling tenaciously to the pure doctrines of the Christian faith; let us be loyal to the voice of conscience and of duty; and should frowning and imperious tyranny threaten our spiritual independence, let us

hold fast our profession without wavering, like the noble army of martyrs, knowing that the most honourable man is the truest man, and believing that if we suffer with Christ we shall also reign with Him.

"They say who know the life Divine,
And upward gaze with eagle eyne,
That by each golden crown on high,
Rich with celestial jewelry,
Which for our Lord's redeem'd is set,
There hangs a radiant coronet,
All gemm'd with pure and living light,
Too dazzling for a sinner's sight,
Prepared for virgin souls, and them
Who seek the martyr's diadem."

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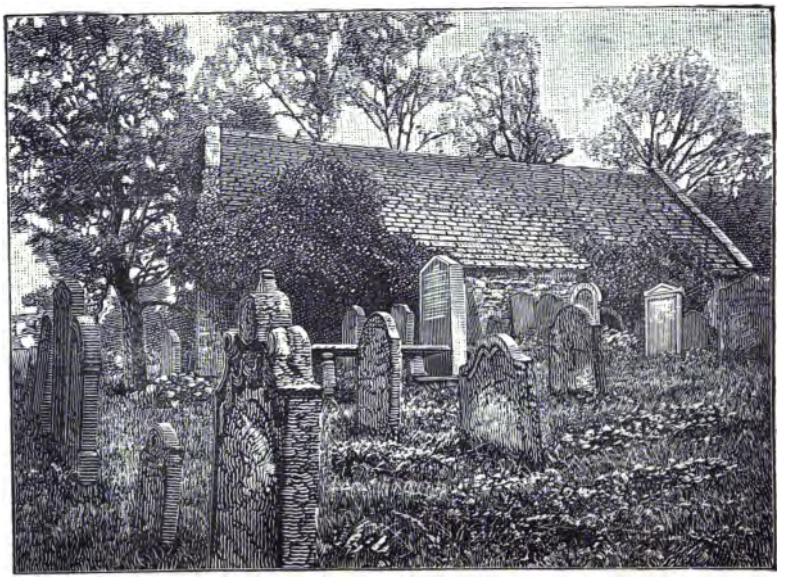

THE CHURCH OF SAINT PALLADIUS, FORDUN.

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IV.

GEORGE WISHART,

THE SCHOOLMASTER OF MONTROSE.

"He was a scholar, and a ripe and good one;
Exceeding wise, fair spoken, and persuading;
Lofty and sour to them that loved him not;
But to those men that sought him sweet as summer."
—*Shakespeare.*

GEORGE WISHART, the most illustrious of the Scottish Martyrs, was the scion of an ancient family in Kincardineshire. The Guiscards, Vischarts, or Wisharts, were of French extraction, and appear to have settled in the "Howe of the Mearns" as early as the twelfth century, distinguishing themselves in later years as Statesmen, Ecclesiastics, Soldiers, and Lawyers.* *John of Wishart* was the first conspicuous member of the family, and his name appears in the Foundation Charter of the Maison-Dieu of Brechin,

* *Vetus Registrum de Aberbrothoc*, pp. 97, 179, 198. Jervise's *Memorials of Angus and Mearns*, pp. 385-7.

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dated 1264. William Wishart was evidently a man of great sagacity and administrative power, for he rose to the dignity of Chancellor during the reign of Alexander the Third, and he occupied and adorned first the See of Glasgow, and afterwards that of St. Andrews till his death, which occurred at Morebattle in 1278. After the death of King Alexander, Robert Wishart was appointed one of the Governors of the Kingdom of Scotland, and proved himself an able and trustworthy Statesman; and when the English King, Edward, terminated his triumphal march through the realm at Elgin, in July, 1296, *John Wyschard of the Mearns* appeared among the territorial magnates and ecclesiastical dignitaries, and paid him homage. It is not till the year 1442 that we hear of *Sir John Wishart of Pitarrow;* but then he is granting out of the lands of Redhall and Balfeith the sum of ten merks, for the maintenance of the Chapel of St. Thomas in Brechin Cathedral. In 1471 James Wishart of Pitarrow held the Constable lands of Brechin, lying near Bearehill; and in 1499 John Wishart of Pitarrow forfeited, for some cause unknown to us, the lands of Balgillo in Fife.

The father of the Martyr was Sir James Wishart of Pitarrow, an able lawyer and a liberal church-

man. He held the office of Lord Justice-Clerk between 1513 and 1524; and he was a member of the great Council convened at Perth, in November, 1513, to negotiate with the Ambassadors of the French King concerning a political alliance, while the flower of Scottish chivalry withered on the dreary field of Flodden, and the National heart was paralyzed with grief and fear. Sir James was twice married, first to Janet Lindsay, in October 1510, and afterwards, in April 1512, to Elizabeth Learmont, a daughter of the Laird of Balcomie and Dairsie, in Fifeshire,* and closely related to several illustrious men who espoused the cause of Reformation, and shielded the early Protestants. Of this second marriage George Wishart seems to have been the only son. No authentic record remains to tell the place of his birth, but it is almost certain it was Pitarrow,

* Sir James Learmont, or Leirmonth, of Balcomie and Dairsie, was the son of David Learmont of Clatta. He was a man of great influence, and of liberal evangelical opinions. He was Master of the Household in James the Fifth's reign, and Provost of St. Andrews from 1532 to 1547. Beaton detested him, inscribed his name on the black roll of doomed noblemen and gentlemen presented by the Cardinal to the King in 1542, and plotted his ruin. Sir James died in 1547, and was succeeded by a worthy son, Patrick, who, while Provost of St. Andrews, and Bailie of the Regality, refused "to meddle with the innocent servants of God, and preachers of His word," and defended old Walter Myln of Lunan when he was condemned in 1858.

the family-residence in the Mearns, about two miles from the beautiful and classical village of Fordun, where Saint Palladius settled in the fifth christian century, and founded a celebrated church. And though no register of his birth exists it is probable he was born in 1513, as there is a fine old picture of the Martyr in possession of a distant relative bearing the date M.D. XLIII., Aetat. 30.

The old Castle of Pitarrow was demolished in 1802, and its site is now occupied by a farm-steading, more useful than picturesque.* But the

* "When the old mansion-house of Pitarrow," says Dr. Leslie, "was pulled down in 1802, there were discovered on the plaster of the great hall, to which access was had by a flight of steps, some paintings in a state of high preservation, the walls having been wainscoted, at what period is not known. The air and dust having thus been excluded, the colours in the paintings were as vivid as if they had been done only a year before. The only one of the paintings that may be noticed here, was that which represented the City of Rome, and a grand procession going to St. Peter's. The Pope, adorned with the tiara, in his full robes of State, and mounted on a horse or mule, led by some person of distinction, was attended by a large company of Cardinals, all richly dressed, and all uncovered. . . . Beyond this was the magnificent Cathedral of St. Peter, the doors of which seemed to be open to receive the procession. Below the picture was written the following lines:—

In Papam

Laus tua, non tua fraus: virtus non gloria rerum,
Scandere te fecit hoc decus eximium;
Pauperibus sua dat gratis, nec munera curat
Curia Papalis, quod more percipimus.
Haec carmina potius legenda cancros imitando."

ancient wall and garden are still visible, and some stones inserted in the modern structure bear the initials of the Wishart family. Within comparatively recent years a fine avenue of venerable trees ran alongside the garden wall, and when the hoary sentinels were hewn down by merciless Vandals, and the plough driven through the soil, old black-bearded oats sprang up, the seed of which had probably been sown before the Reformation. And while the garden was being trenched some time ago, a plain gold marriage-ring was discovered, with the pithy and pious couplet inscribed thereon—

"In God most Just
Is all my Trust,"

words singularly appropriate for a ring worn on the forefinger of a family counting among its members a Judge of great integrity, and a Preacher of Righteousness, who laid down his life for the Truth.*

Doubtless George Wishart received his early education in the School held in the Mensal Church of Fordun, and frequently quenched his thirst at "Paldy's Well" on the Mount of Finella, and

* I am indebted for this information to the accomplished Free Church Minister of Fordun—the Rev. John Philip.

found a never-ceasing source of pure delight in the rapid-rolling Luther that gladdens and brightens the quiet pastoral valley. From the School of Fordun George Wishart proceeded to King's College, Aberdeen, where a famous Angus man, Hector Boyce, or Boece, discharged the duties of Principal with remarkable distinction, and succeeded in inspiring the youth entrusted to his care with a fervent love for classical studies, and liberal theological opinions.* But while Boece, who was educated in Paris, among the Humanists, probably knew Greek, he did not teach it. Indeed, there was but one Greek Schoolmaster in Scotland

* Hector Boece, Principal of King's College, Aberdeen, in 1494, a celebrated classical scholar, and a Reformer before the Reformation, was intimately connected with the district of Angus. Panbride or Ballinbride, signifying the House of Bridget, was occupied during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries by the family of Boyce or Boece,—Latinized Boethius. To this family the Scottish Livy belonged, and to the Barony of Ballinbride he succeeded after his appointment to the Principalship of Aberdeen. He was a great road-maker, and the road in the vicinity of Arbirlot Moor, known as *Heckenbois-Path*, is doubtless one of the old roads constructed by Hector Boece.

Educated first at Dundee, and afterwards at Montaigu or Montacute College, Paris, he was brought back to Scotland by the famous Bishop Elphinstone to found the University of Aberdeen, where he speedily won the admiration of crowds of eager students. After filling the office of Principal of King's College for forty years with great distinction, he was succeeded by William Hay, who was also a native of Angus.

at this period, and he was not resident within the walls of any of the Universities.

In 1534 John Erskine of Dun, an able and accomplished country gentleman, of enlightened views, of genuine piety, and of public spirit,—who subsequently became one of the most conspicuous leaders of the Reformation, and the first Superintendent of the Reformed Church in Angus and Mearns,—introduced the study of Greek language and literature into the Grammar School of Montrose. While travelling on the Continent of Europe the Laird of Dun had discovered the supreme importance of the knowledge of the Greek language, as an instrument for perfecting a liberal education, and especially for bringing students destined for the work of the ministry into direct and immediate contact with the Word of God, as contained in the New Testament Scriptures. Fired with an enthusiasm for the study of Greek literature, this generous patron of learning induced an accomplished Frenchman, named Pierre de Marsiliers, to accompany him to Scotland, and to commence the teaching of Greek in the Grammar School of the town in which he, as Provost, took a deep interest. Attracted by the fame of Marsiliers, and thirsting for the new

learning which had wrought a revolution on the Continent, George Wishart appeared at Montrose and prosecuted his studies with ardour. At the Grammar School he speedily gained such a mastery of the melodious Greek tongue that he soon became the assistant or successor of his master. In 1538, Wishart—a young man of five-and-twenty—was patiently and lovingly endeavouring to give the generous and enquiring youth about him a clear view of the naked Truths of Christianity, through the precious Greek original.* But the devoted Grecian was not suffered to prosecute his classical labours long without molestation. More ardent and religious than the Frenchman, he was suspected of favouring the dreaded Lutheran opinions. His own Bishop, John Hepburn of Brechin, however, was not his worst foe. Hepburn seems to have been a quiet, tolerant man, and not disposed to play the odious part of Inquisitor. But one whom all men feared and many hated had become Inquisitor-General of the Kingdom, and he had an eagle's eye, and an

* "Mr. Wishart was a son of Pitarrow in the Mearns. He had been in his younger years master of the Grammar School at Montrose, and had afterwards studied at Cambridge. He is reckoned to have been the worthiest person of all those who supported the new doctrines in this kingdom." Bishop Keith's *History of the Affairs of Church and State in Scotland*, Vol. I., p. 103.

eagle's talons for a heretic. Though David Beaton, Abbot of Arbroath, could wink at the grossest cruelty and the most audacious profligacy, though he could practise the basest worldly arts and live in open sin, he would not tolerate a Lutheran, or suffer one of his clergy to deal leniently with any teacher suspected of disloyalty to the Papal Church.* Not that he was a reverent or a conscientious man. He had no religion; and ambition was the charioteer of his soul. The heaviest blows that he struck in defence of the Church were distinctly intended to promote his own advancement and glory. He knew that the stronger

* Prelatical writers, anxious to screen Beaton, have asserted that he was married, and the father of several children, before he entered into priest's orders; but there is not a particle of legal evidence to support this statement. Indeed, in all the documents where Beaton's children are mentioned they are distinctly described as *natural.* Chambers, in his *Picture of Scotland* (Vol. II., p. 234) says:—"He is well known to have had six illegitimate daughters, besides sons, almost all by different mothers. . . . It would appear that the Cardinal . . . concerned himself very little about the concealment of these breaches of decorum, since in 1545 he passed to Finhaven, and there, in a style of the most ostentatious magnificence, married one of his daughters to the Master of Crawford." The Editor of *Keith's History* (Vol. I., p. 113) states "that three of the Cardinal's sons were legitimated, according to the Scottish law, during his lifetime. These were James, Alexander, and John Beaton, and in the Act of Legitimation they are styled the *natural sons of the right Reverend, etc.*" Alexander became *Archdene of Lothian*, and at the Reformation joined the Protestant Church.

the Church was in Scotland the mightier a Bishop would he be. And he thought, like all worldly-wise-men, that the best way to strengthen the Church is to throttle dissent, and to strangle independent opinion. With the Montrose Schoolmaster in his eye, Beaton reminded Hepburn of Brechin of his duty. Accordingly the Bishop of the Diocese summoned the Greek Schoolmaster before him under a charge of heresy. In those dark degenerate times heresy just implied all the light and truth that militated against the authority and supremacy of the Roman Catholic Church. If it had meant obstinate opposition to the revealed Will of God, then the Prelates of Rome might have been warranted in dealing sharply with offenders, in the hope of bringing them to a better state of mind. But how unreasonable to attempt to arraign and condemn a learned and distinguished young man because he has ventured to instruct in the Greek Testament a few earnest scholars in a classical school! If the dignitaries of the Church of Rome dreaded the results of Greek scholarship, and especially of the knowledge of the Holy Scriptures in the original, then they hated the light of truth, and convicted themselves of being children of the night and not of the day. As a matter of fact

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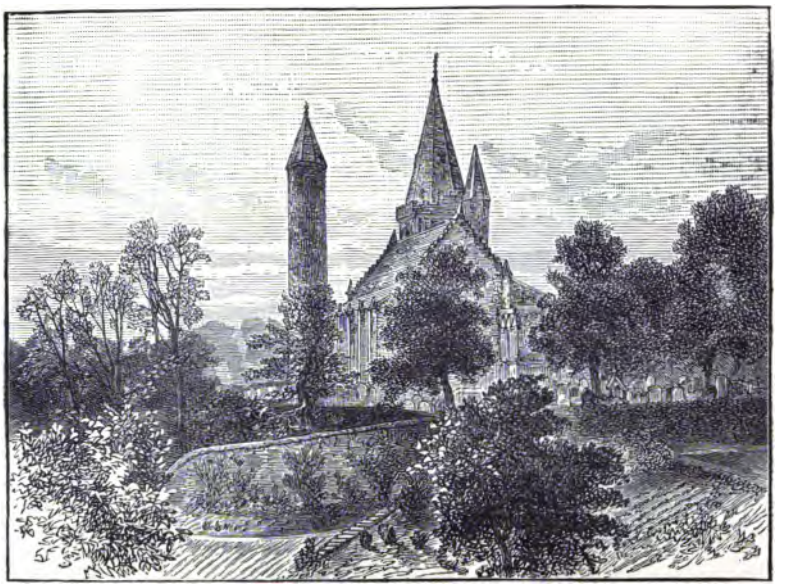

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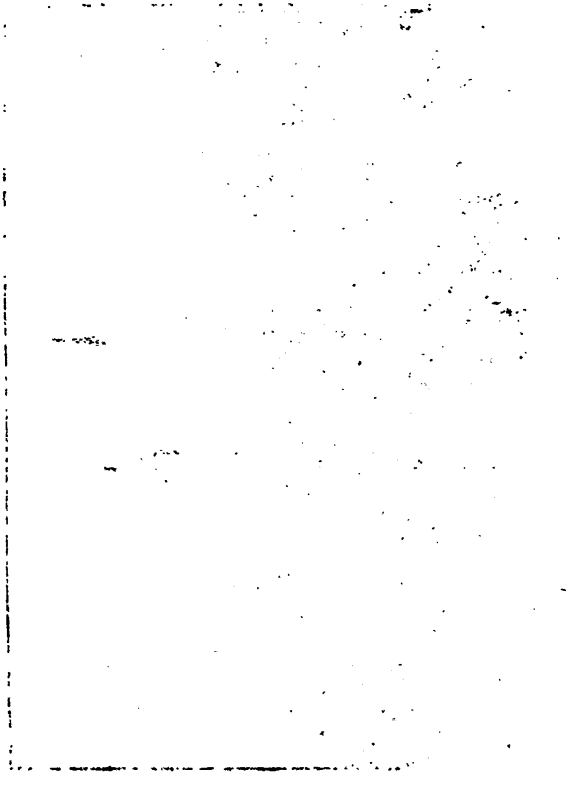

they *were* afraid of the light of Greek learning. They knew that the study of Greek had already produced an intellectual revival and a religious revolution on the Continent. Erasmus and Luther, Melanchthon and Zwingle, had drunk deeply from the Greek New Testament, and had renounced many of the distinctive tenets of the Roman Church, and embraced principles that sapped and mined her very foundations. With the Greek New Testament in their hands, they had discarded Mediæval superstitions and errors, and found light and peace and strength in the eternal priesthood of the Lord Jesus Christ, in the omnipresence of the Holy Spirit, and in the doctrine of the full and free forgiveness of sin through the one sacrifice offered on the Cross of Calvary. And so, the Roman Prelates, terrified lest similar results might spring from the teaching of Greek in Scotland, resolutely endeavoured to extinguish the torch borne aloft by the young schoolmaster of Montrose. But the torch-bearer was not to be arrested and suppressed in a day. He knew that "the more a torch is shook it shines." Nor was he as yet prepared to lay down his life for the Gospel. Fleeing from the hand of the persecutor, he concealed himself for a time in some of the obscure parishes of his native land. Then he travelled stealthily into England,

where the ecclesiastical atmosphere was clearer and balmier, and the sky calmer and brighter.

In 1539 he is found preaching in Bristol, on the banks of the sweeping Severn. Bristol was then but a Deanery in the Diocese of Worcester; and the Bishop of Worcester was one of the stoutest and staunchest of English Reformers. Who does not know and love old Latimer? Of all English Churchmen he is the most admirable and lovable, as he is the most homely, quaint, and eloquent. His moral strength and fearless courage, his stainless and generous character, his firm grasp of the great evangelical doctrines of the Bible, his championship of the Reformers and their distinctive tenets, his picturesque, forcible, and humorous style of speech, commend him to all honest and godly men. No preacher has risen up in England so like Martin Luther as Hugh Latimer, the heroical Bishop, who boasted of being "the son of a husbandman of right good estimation." And it was just Latimer of Worcester who took in the wandering Scottish exile, decorated him with some small ecclesiastical orders, and licensed him to lecture in the churches of Bristol.

But while enjoying the favour of Latimer, Wishart failed to win a just celebrity in his new sphere. In point of fact he fell into error and

disgrace. From an entry in the "Mayor's Calendar"* of Bristol, we learn that *George Wysard*, in a lecture delivered at Saint Nicholas' Church, on the 15th May, set forth "the most blasphemous heresy, openly declaring that *Christ nother hath nor coulde merite for him, nor yet for us;* which heresy brought many of the commons of this town into great error, and divers of them were persuaded by that heretical lecture to heresy."† Accused by *Sir John Kerell*, Dean of Bristol, Wishart was brought before the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishops of Bath, Norwich, and Chichester, and tried for heresy; and after

* Dated 30, Henry VIII.

† Among the *Cromwell Papers* in the Rolls' Office, Mr. Froude found and Dr. Lorimer copied the following letter, which throws some light on Wishart's life in Bristol, and confirms the statement in the Mayor's Calendar:—

"Pleaseth it your honourable lordship to be advertised, that certain accusations are made and had by Sir John Kerell, Dean of Bristowe, deputy of the Bishop of Worcester, our ordinary, and by divers others, inhabitants of Bristowe foresaid, against one George Wischarde a Scottishman born, lately being before your honourable lordship. Which accusations the said Dean and other inhabitants aforesaid have presented before me the Mayor of Bristowe, and justices of peace; and the same accusations I have received, sending the same unto your said honourable lordship; and furthermore, the Chamberlain and the Dean of Bristowe shall signify unto your honourable lordship, the very truth in the premises, unto whom we shall desire you to give credence. . . . . At Bristowe, the ix. day of June, Anno Regis Henrici, xxxi. (1539). By me Thomas Jeffryis, Mayor of Brystowe."

examination, convicted and condemned. The penalty was more humiliating than severe. Wishart was commanded "to bere a faggot in St. Nicholas' Church," on the 13th July, and in Christ's Church, on the 20th July, which, like a sincere penitent convinced of doctrinal error, he strictly obeyed. We cannot doubt the justness of the charge brought by the Dean of Bristol against our countryman; for the prelate who condemned him was no relentless persecutor of the type of Beaton, but Cranmer, the first Protestant Archbishop in England. Indeed, the sentence pronounced against Wishart was fully justified by his penitence and submission. He manfully abjured the unscriptural doctrine he had taught ignorantly, and he did so in the very Churches where he had inculcated it. Some modern writers have asserted that Wishart had preached at Bristol against the worship and intercession of the Virgin Mary,* and they have reproached the Reformers for being guilty of the weakness and the sin of *recanting* an article of the Christian Faith. But Wishart merits none of their condemnation and pity. Like an honest man, fearing error more

* Thus the celebrated Dr. M'Crie and the accomplished David Laing,—confounding *nother* or neither with *mother*.

than a sense of shame and humiliation, he publicly renounced the *heretical* tenet of which Cranmer and his friends in council had found him guilty. But what wonder that a young disciple like Wishart, who had just emerged from the thick darkness of the Roman Church, should fall into error! While preaching at Bristol he was but a novice; the full, strong stream of Gospel light had not yet penetrated the gloom which surrounded his soul. When a religious man renounces an old Faith, his temptation is to run to extremes. It is only in converts with a clear intellect and a mature experience that the golden mean we call moderation is to be found. A great passionate soul, on discovering error, is generally too indignant to see the whole truth which always lies between opposite poles of thought. The visionaries of the German Reformation,—wild and reckless spirits like Nicholas Storch, Marcus Stübner, and Martin Cellarius,—materially injured the cause of God and Luther, which they meant to advance, simply because they, in their blind fury, failed to discover a particle of good in the Romish Church, or a germ of truth in the Roman Creed, and thought that God's work was best promoted by the advocacy of views most antagonistic to the teaching of the Papists. *Truth lies between extremes,*

and it would be well if all reformers and their friends remembered this adage. For it was unquestionably because Wishart forgot this maxim that he, in denouncing the Romish doctrine of the Virgin Mother's mediation, renounced and condemned the fundamental Christian dogma of the vicarious atonement. To say that Christ "nother hath nor coulde merite for him, nor yet for us," was heresy of the deadliest kind. But let it be said to the honour of the Reformer that while he could suffer exile for the Protestant faith, aye, and death itself, like his Master, the King of Truth, he could recant the real heretical, because unscriptural, doctrine he had ignorantly taught in the diocese of Worcester.

> "It is a great sin to swear unto a sin;
> But greater sin to keep a sinful oath."

That man alone is *fool* who does not change his mind for the *better*, when the true light shines. To love the darkness and reject the light is the sin that forfeits heaven, and prepares men for the lampless world.

In 1540 George Wishart left England for Germany and Switzerland for the express purpose of deepening his own religious life and obtaining a profounder knowledge of the pure doctrines of the Reformed Church. Henry Bullinger, William

Farel, and John Calvin, were the bright and shining lights of Switzerland at this period, and Wishart seems to have fallen under their spell, and to have embraced their distinctive beliefs. And when we know that this seeker after Truth translated the *Swiss Confession* * into his native language, we may conclude that he was more of a Calvinist than a Lutheran. Like his future friend and pupil, John Knox, and, indeed, like all the great Scottish Reformers, the Creed of the mountaineers and patriots of Switzerland seems to have captivated him chiefly because of the supremacy it gave to the Word of God, and of the clear and intelligible statements it contained concerning the Sacraments. In other years Wishart proved himself a true disciple of the Swiss Reformers; for he maintained the supremacy of the Bible as a rule of faith and a directory of life, renounced all Popish doctrines regarding the voice of Tradition and the Church, and, at the same time, disclaimed the Lutheran dogma of consubstantiation, and taught that while the bread and wine of the Lord's Supper are symbols of the body and blood

* The First Helvetic Confession was translated by Wishart, and printed after his death in 1548. Reprinted in the *Wodrow Miscellany*, Vol. I., pp. 1-23.

of the Redeemer, and aids to faith, Christ is not physically but really and spiritually present in the Holy Sacrament.

During his sojourn on the Continent, Wishart met many pleasant friends who soothed his sorrows and "expounded unto him the way of God more perfectly," as Aquila and Priscilla did to the eloquent Apollos of Alexandria. But he likewise encountered some stubborn, sharp-witted Jews, who taught him wholesome and profitable lessons he never forgot. Sailing down the Rhine amid beautiful scenery, studded with innumerable castellated rocks, he entered into friendly converse with a son of Abraham, who speedily manifested the pertinacity of his marvellous race. The Reformer, evidently bent on converting the Jew to the Christian Faith, enquired at him why "he did not believe that the true Messiah was come, considering that they had seen all the prophecies which were spoken of him, to be fulfilled; moreover, the prophecies taken away, and the Sceptre of Judah." Wishart tells us that he vanquished his fellow-voyager by quoting Scripture testimonies, "to approve that Messiah was come." But the Jew was not to be so easily conquered as Wishart had imagined. If he could not overthrow the Christian traveller's arguments from the Old

Testament, he was ready with some biting questions which were not to be answered offhand. "When Messiah cometh," said the Jew, "He shall restore all things, and He shall not abrogate the Law which was given to our fathers, as ye do. For why? We see the poor almost perish through hunger, yet you are not moved to pity towards them; but among us Jews, though we be poor, there are no beggars found. Secondly, it is forbidden by the Law *to faine* any kind of imagery of things in heaven above, on the earth beneath, or in the sea under the earth, but one God only to honour; but your sanctuaries and churches are full of idols. Thirdly, a piece of bread baken upon the ashes ye adore and worship, and say that it is your god."* The stinging criticisms of the Jewish voyager made a deep and lasting impression on Wishart; for when he was arraigned by his persecutors at St. Andrews, in 1546, he repeated the conversation for the purpose of showing the priests of the Church of Rome what baleful influences their inconsistent conduct, dark superstitions, and idolatrous practices, exerted on the minds of unbelievers; and during the closing years of his life he himself exhibited a wonderfully

* Knox's *History of the Reformation*, Vol. I., p. 159.

generous and charitable spirit, labouring with untiring zeal among the poor and plague-stricken of Dundee, and ministering to them and to all liberally of his substance.

Returning to England in 1542-3, Wishart found a resting place, and a quiet sanctuary for a while in the academical town of Cambridge. Here he entered Corpus Christi College, commonly known as Bennet's; and among noble edifices devoted to learning, and "in shady bowered retreats" he cultivated his own mind, and helped to educate others also. In this proud academical centre the Reformer met many devout and earnest Grecian scholars whose company solaced him in exile, and he, as College Regent, attracted the admiration and won the love of not a few pupils. One of these, Emery Tylney, has left us a charming pen-portrait of the Martyr as he appeared at Cambridge. He describes his master and friend as a wonderfully beautiful, pious, and charitable character. Physically, he was tall, polled-headed, black-haired, long-bearded, of "melancholy complexion," and "comely of personage." Well-travelled and "well-spoken after his country of Scotland," he was "courteous, lowly, lovely, glad to teach, desirous to learn." He wore constantly "a mantle, frieze gown to his shoes, a black Milan fustian doublet,

and plain black hosen, coarse new canvas for his shirts, and white falling bands and cuffs at the hands, all the which apparel he gave to the poor; some weekly, some monthly, some quarterly, as he liked, saving his French cap, which he kept the whole year of my being with him." Moreover, Tylney informs us that Wishart was a Godfearing, temperate, modest man, hating covetousness,—forbearing "one meal in three, one day in four for the most part, except something to comfort nature," sleeping on "a puff of straw" and in "coarse new canvas sheets, which, when he changed, he gave away." With earnestness and gravity he taught his scholars, "so that some of his people thought him severe, and would have slain him, but the Lord was his defence." And the youthful disciple of the Cambridge Regent concludes his graphic description with a wail of regret more significant than any highly-wrought panegyric:—"O that the Lord had left him to me, his poor boy, that he might have finished that he had begun. . . . If I should declare his love to me and all men, his charity to the poor in giving, relieving, caring, keeping, providing, yea, infinitely studying how to do good unto all and hurt to none, I should sooner want words than just cause to commend him." This picture,

drawn by a familiar friend, who could never have dreamt of the future career of Wishart, or of the supreme interest of his life of suffering and moral splendour, is extremely precious. It exhibits a scholar of thirty in a most attractive light. In him learning and piety, modesty and courage, humility and charity, were united; and the gravity of his demeanour and the mild asceticism of his domestic habits were not incompatible with great kindliness of heart and urbanity of manners. If he was grave, he was not surly; if devout and earnest-minded, he was not gruff and ungracious; if pure and unworldly, he was not proud and haughty; if learned and fond of study, he was neither cynical nor uncharitable.

In the Summer of 1543, Wishart quitted the academic retreats of Cambridge, and proceeded to London to meet a party of his countrymen who had repaired to the English capital to settle some affairs of State. Having satisfactorily adjusted two treaties, one for an amicable alliance with England and France, the other for the marriage of King Henry's son, Prince Edward, to the Queen of Scots, the Commissioners returned to Edinburgh in July, and brought Wishart in their train.* As soon as he found himself on

* The Scots Commissioners were Sir James Learmont of

Scottish soil, the Reformer hastened to Montrose, where he had laboured for some time as a classical schoolmaster. Numerous old friends and pupils received him with open arms, and flocked "to a private house, next to the Church, except one," to hear him expound the Ten Commandments, the Apostle's Creed, and the Lord's Prayer. Unquestionably his preaching was followed by the happiest results; for though no Records of the time are preserved to tell the names of the townspeople quickened and enlightened through his ministrations, we know that hereafter the people of Montrose and the surrounding district became staunch friends of the Reformation cause, and laid down their lives for the truth. Walter Myln, the Vicar of Lunan, was the last of the Martyrs; and the Straitouns of Laurieston, the Erskines of Dun, the Wisharts of Pitarrow, and the Melvilles of Baldovy and Dysart, were the strength and glory of the Reformed Church.

Leaving Montrose, the lighthouse of Angus, Wishart went south-west to Dundee, which, even

Balcomie and Dairsie; Sir William Hamilton of Sanquhar; and Henry Balnaves of Halhill, in Fife, Secretary. They left Edinburgh in March, 1543, and returned in July of the same year. During the month of May they were joined, in London, by the Earl of Glencairn and Sir George Douglas.

in pre-Reformation times, was a seaport of considerable size and importance, possessing monasteries thronged with friars Black and Grey, a Convent of the Sisters of Saint Clare, and numerous churches and chapels.*

Here the new preacher achieved celebrity, and exerted a commanding influence.

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* Prior to the Reformation, Dundee was a great ecclesiastical centre, and one of the seven famous places of pilgrimage in Scotland. It possessed numerous churches, chapels, and monasteries. The Churches of St. Clement, St. Mary, St. Paul, and St. Nicholas were old, opulent, and celebrated. Chapels dedicated to St. Thomas, to St. Serf, and to St. Salvator were founded and endowed by the princely and pious Scrymgeours of Dudhope. The Chapel of St. Mary stood at the foot of the Rotten Row or Hilltown; the Chapel of the Holy Rood or Cross was situated on a rock called the Hill-craig; and the famous Chapel of St. Rocque occupied a position between the Den Bridge and the east end of Seagate. St. Rocque's Lane is still known as Semi-rookie.

The Monastery of the Franciscans, founded by the Lady Devorgilla, mother of John Baliol, in 1260, stood in the grounds of the Houff; the Monastery of the Dominicans, founded by Andrew Abercromby, a munificent citizen, was separated from the Great House of the Franciscans by Friar's or Burial Wynd; the Monastery of the Muskerines or Red Friars was founded, in 1392, by James Lindsay, Vicar-General of Scotland, and stood on the site of the Hospital at the foot of South Tay Street; and the celebrated Convent of St. Clare, supported by the illustrious St. Clares of Roslin, is situated at the head of the Methodists' Close in the Overgate, and is now better known as "Mill Hill's Lodging." At the west end of the town there was also a cloister for penitent Magdalenes, and the first station on the railway to Perth is still known as *Magdalene Green.*—See *Historical Description of the Town of Dundee*, by Charles Mackie. Glasgow, 1836.

"Singularly learned in godly knowledge as well as in all honest, humane science," says Knox, "Wishart's Lectures on the Epistle to the Romans won great admiration of all that heard him in Dundee." Indeed, the preaching of the Reformer fairly roused the inhabitants, and fired them with a noble enthusiasm and a righteous indignation. In their furious zeal to testify against the corruptions and abuses of the Romish Church, they, like the people of Crail, under the influence of Knox's eloquence, a few years later, destroyed the Houses of the Black and Grey Friars, sacked the Abbey of Lindores, drove out the lazy and greedy monks, and threatened to overthrow the Kirk of Aberbrothoc.*

Meanwhile, the Kingdom of Scotland was governed by the Regent Arran. At the beginning of his public career he had captivated the hearts and inspired the hopes of the best and most enlightened of his countrymen, by devising liberal measures, and lending his powerful influence to the friends of peace and evangelical religion. But, as time showed, he was radically weak and timid, fickle

* "In this time there was a great heresy in Dundee; there they destroyed the kirks, and would have destroyed Aberbrothoc Kirk were it not the Lord Ogilvie."—*Diurnal of Occurrents in Scotland*, p. 29.

and vacillating.† The strength and courage of the true soldier was not in him. Gradually the astute and wily Cardinal got complete mastery of him, and used him for the furtherance of his own plans and purposes. Ultimately the Regent became a keen Romanizer, exerted himself to suppress the Reformation movement, and in Parliament exhorted "all prelates and ordinaries, each one within his own diocese and jurisdiction, to enquire upon all such manner of persons, and proceed against them according to the laws of holy kirk." Once and again the Regent had commanded Wishart to abandon his ministry in Dundee, but for some months the Reformer defied the creature of the Cardinal and continued to preach with extraordinary fire and fervency to enraptured multitudes. For centuries no such preacher had visited the district of Angus, and the people hung on his lips, and hungered for the Word of God. However, the relentless Inquisitor, supported by a host of armed men and numerous large pieces of artillery, drawn by eighty powerful horses, was standing at the

† Mary of Guise, said of Arran: "He is assuredly a simple, and the most inconstant man in the world, for whatsoever he determineth to-day he changeth to-morrow."—*Sadler State Papers*, Vol. I., p. 115.

gate, and the preacher was compelled to hide himself for a season. Beaton and his satellites had undertaken a visitation of the district watered by the Tay for the express purpose of trampling out with the iron heel of despotism the goodly work of Reformation. They had invaded Perth on the 25th January, 1544, and wreaked their fury on some unprotected and humble citizens. Robert Lamb, merchant, William Anderson, maltman, James Hunter, flesher, and James Ronaldson, skinner, were charged with interrupting friar Spence on All-Hallow-Day, and with "holding an assembly and convention in Saint Anne's Chappell, in the Spey-Yards, upon Sanct Andrewes day last by past, conferring and disputing there upon the Holie Scriptures," and were summarily condemned and hanged forthwith. The wife of James Ranoldson was shamefully and brutally treated. Among all the cases of bloody martyrdoms in Scotland, none is invested with such pathetic and tragical interest as hers, and the brief story of it ought to be sufficient to melt every Scottish heart and to inspire every mother with a wholesome dread of the Popish Church. Helen Ranoldson, it would appear, had not invoked the aid of the Virgin, or rendered unto Mary the homage usually accorded by Romanists, when her child

was born. Consequently she was accused by the prelates of dishonouring the Virgin Mary, and with her sucking babe in her arms, was condemned to death by drowning. The constancy and courage of this woman was amazing. She was made of the stuff that form the heroines. Joan of Arc, the immortal maid of France, was not braver than the good woman of Perth. When her husband was led to the scaffold she followed, and when he mounted the ladder she persisted in following him, and entreated the executioners to hang her from the same beam. But her wish was not granted. Still, she waited beside her husband to the last, encouraging him to be of good cheer, and concluded by saying: "I shall be with Christ along with you, in a few hours."* Thereafter, this mother in Israel, with her babe on her breast, was flung like a dog into the Tay that runs through the fair city.

"And man whose heaven-erected face
The smiles of love adorn,
Man's inhumanity to man
Makes countless thousands mourn."

* In the city library of Hamburg, Dr. Lorimer found a letter from Alexander Alesius, S.D., addressed to Philip Melanchthon, and dated from Leipzig, April 23, 1544, containing a touching account of the Martyrs of Perth.—*The Scottish Reformation*, pp. 112-113.

At the same time, suspicion fell on Sir Henry Elder, and on Walter Piper, and they were obliged to flee into England for protection. Laurence Pullar, and John Elder, a burgess, purchased exemption by paying a considerable sum of money, the former forty pounds and the latter two hundred pounds. Having completed their work of cruelty in Perth, the Cardinal and his retinue proceeded to Dundee in search of heretics, but they found none saving John Rogers, "a Godly, learned Black Friar, who had fruitfully preached Christ Jesus to the comfort of many in Angus and Mearns;" and him they despatched to St. Andrews, where he was flung into the lowest and darkest dungeon of the Sea-tower of the Castle, and secretly murdered. His body was ultimately thrown over the Castle-wall, and found a grave in the hungry German ocean; but Beaton declared "That the said Johnne, seeking to flie, had broken his awin craig." "Thus," says Knox, "ceased not Satan, by all means, to maintain his kingdom of darkness, and to suppress the light of Christ's Evangel."

In February, 1544, the Pope's knights occupied Dundee, and then proceeded northwards in search of prey. No sooner had they left the town than Wishart and his friends made their appearance,

and pursued their calling, under the patronage of the powerful and pious family of the Scrymgeours of Dudhope.* Sir James Scrymgeour had proved the constant friend and protector of Alexander Alesius, who had been converted to the Protestant faith by Patrick Hamilton; and his son, Sir John, was not a less staunch supporter of the Reformation. As Constable and Provost of the town, and patron of the chapelries, he wielded great influence, which he did not fail to exert on behalf of the Reformers. So long as he could, he shielded Wishart from the violent hands of the Popish party, but when peremptorily ordered by the Queen and Governor of the realm to expel Wishart from the town he felt it would be dangerous to disobey.

At this crisis the Constable's feelings were saved. A renegade did his work.

* The Scrymgeours or Scrymseoures of Dudhope Castle, Dundee, were an old and honourable family. Alexander Scrymseoure was the friend and fellow-soldier of Sir William Wallace, who made him Constable of Dundee after he had wrested the Castle of Dundee out of the hands of Morton, one of King Edward's captains, and Royal Standard-bearer in 1298. From Alexander to John, Earl of Dundee, 1661, there were twelve Scrymseoures who held the office of Constable of Dundee.

Dudhope Castle is situated upon a beautiful terrace on the south side of the Law Hill, commanding a noble view of the Tay and the county of Fife. It originally consisted of a lofty square keep, with two extensive wings.

The Reformer was preaching in the old church of Dundee to a large and influential congregation, when "Robert Myll, then one of the principal men in Dundee, and a man that of old had professed knowledge, and for the same had suffered trouble, gave, in the Queen's and Governor's name, inhibition to the said Master George that he should trouble their town no more, for they would not suffer it." After musing for a while the preacher looked sorrowfully at the accuser and the people, and gravely said: "God is my witness, that I never minded your trouble, but your comfort; yea, your trouble is more dolorous unto me than it is unto yourselves. But I am assured that to refuse God's Word, and to chase from you his messenger, shall not preserve you from trouble; but it shall bring you into it. For God shall send unto you messengers who will not be afraid of horning, nor yet for banishment. I have offered unto you the Word of Salvation, and with the hazard of my life I have remained among you. Now ye yourselves refuse me, and therefore, man, I leave my innocency to be declared by my God. Yet if it be long prosperous with you I am not led by the Spirit of truth." * Having thus spoken sorrowfully he quickly des-

* *Knox's History*, Vol. I. p. 126.

cended from the "preaching place," and though William Keith, fourth Earl Marishall, and other noblemen present endeavoured to persuade him to remain in Dundee, or to accompany them into the country, he passed with all "possible expedition to the Westland," where he hoped to find peace and liberty among the descendants of the Wycklifites.

V.

GEORGE WISHART, THE EVANGELICAL PREACHER.

"And I speak of him, as the Labourer,
Whom *Christ*, in His own Garden, chose to be
His help-mate. Messenger he seemed, and friend
Fast knit to Christ; and the first love he showed
Was after the first counsel that Christ gave."

—*Dante.*

AMONG all the towns of Scotland, few are more beautifully situated, and none are of greater historic interest to a loyal-hearted Protestant than Dundee. Lying beneath the shadow of the Law Hill that stands sentinel over the richest valley in the land, laved by the full flood of the stately and magnificent Tay near its confluence with the German ocean, and commanding an extensive and noble view of water and woodland, of slumbering villages and shining villas, of fruitful pastoral plains, of green undulating hills, and distant mountain-ranges, whose summits tower into the clouds, it well deserves the ancient name

of *Bonnie Dundee.* * And, considering the rare enthusiasm and intense devotion which many of its noblest families, stoutest burghers, and ablest priests manifested in the Reformation movement at the earliest period, it is of singular interest to all who appreciate a pure Christianity in a living Church. To Dundee belongs the signal honour of being the first Scottish burgh that openly declared for the Reformation and courageously supported the Reformed Church when established under Knox. Hence it has been appropriately described as the Second Geneva. Nor is it difficult to account for the influences that disposed the inhabitants of Dundee to welcome the new movement as the breath of spring. Alexander Alane, John Rogers, and James Hewat were among the first clergymen who embraced the new doctrines and fearlessly proclaimed and disseminated them; and they were fortunate in leavening influential families like the Scrymgeours of Dudhope, the Halyburtons—the hereditary Provosts—and the classic Wedderburns, with Protestant principles. Under the sheltering arm of these powerful families, the early Reformers

* Boece, the old historian of Scotland, says that the original name of Dundee was *Alectum—The Beautiful.*

found opportunities for attacking the abuses and superstitions of the Roman Church, and preaching the pure Gospel, such as were not to be obtained at the time elsewhere.

George Wishart, in particular, exerted a deep religious influence on all classes of the community. His intimate connection with many of the best families in Angus and Mearns, his scholarly tastes and erudition, his evangelical zeal and burning eloquence, his terrible earnestness and amazing fortitude made him a great intellectual and moral force in Dundee. Though compelled to leave the town at the instance of the weak and fickle Governor of the Kingdom, overawed by the imperious Cardinal, multitudes lamented his departure, and nobles coveted his friendship and fellowship.

On leaving Dundee, where he had ministered with singular success for some months, Wishart proceeded to Ayrshire, found a powerful friend and protector in Lord Glencairn, and received a hearty welcome from the descendants of the old Lollard race. For a while he appears to have preached in the town of Ayr with manifest tokens of favour and without serious molestation. But the lynx-eyed Cardinal was closely observing his movements; and at his instigation the Archbishop of Glasgow

with his jackmen and pompous retinue, swept down upon the town with the intention of silencing and capturing the evangelical preacher. The influence of Lord Glencairn and his friends, however, was too powerful in Ayr to permit Dunbar to lay violent hands upon the Reformer, and it might even have been strong enough to exclude the Archbishop from the parish church, had Wishart not interfered to prevent a contest. But he did not grudge Dunbar the use of the church. He knew the character and qualifications of the Archbishop, and he quietly said to his personal friends and followers: "Let them alone; his sermon will not much hurt; let us go to the Market Cross." Accordingly the Archbishop mounted the parish pulpit, and altogether ignorant of the art of preaching and of the doctrines of Scripture, he delivered a rambling address to "the old bosses of the town" and his own jackmen, the sum of which was: "They say that we should preach: why not? Better late thrive than never thrive: hold us still for your bishop and we shall provide better for the next time." At the Market Cross Wishart took his stand, "where," says Knox, "he made so notable a sermon that the very enemies themselves were confounded."

Having discomfited the Romanists in Ayr the evangelist accepted the hospitality of John Lockhart of Barr, and frequently preached with great fervour in the old church of Galston. After repeated solicitations to preach in the church of Mauchline he consented to do so; but when the Sheriff of the County, Hugh Campbell of Loudoun, heard of his coming, he speedily despatched the Campbells of Mongarswood, Read of Daldilling in Sorn, and Crawford of Templeland in Auchinleck, to hold the church, fearful lest a beautiful and costly tabernacle, ornamenting the altar, might be shattered and destroyed in case of tumult. But there were other Campbells determined to advance the cause of Reformation, and prepared to force an entrance to the parish church. Hugh Campbell, of Kinzeancleugh, a cadet of the house of Loudoun, was distinguished by a rare enthusiasm for the new doctrines, and would have waged war with his relatives on the other side if the Reformer had not counselled peace, saying persuasively: "Brother, Christ Jesus is as potent upon the fields as in the kirk; and I find that He himself more frequently preached in the desert, at the sea-side, and other places judged profane, than He did in the temple at Jerusalem. It is the word of peace that God sends by me: the blood of no man shall be shed

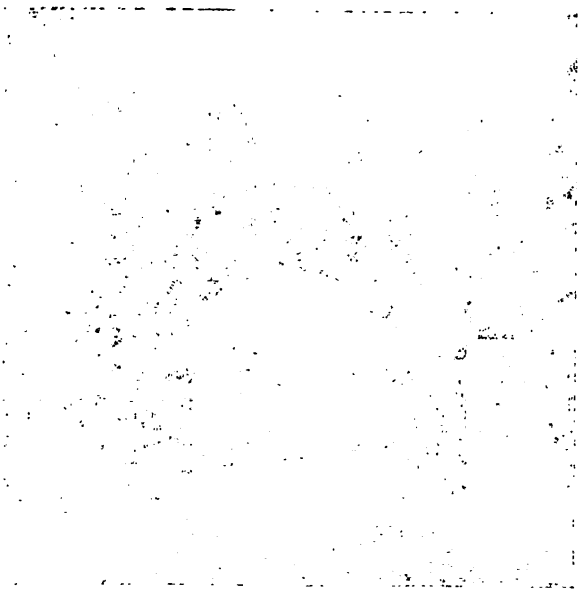
this day for the preaching of it." Having pacified his friend and admirer, Wishart led the excited crowd to a dyke, skirting a broad moor which lay on the south-west side of Mauchline. Like many a steel-grey Cameronian in later days the preacher mounted the dyke, and delivered from the rustic pulpit in the vast temple of nature a noble sermon, productive of the most blessed spiritual results. The day was "pleasing and hot;" the hungry people thronged about him, some standing, others leaning on the *fail* dyke, and many sitting on shaggy tufts of heather and the wild grass of the wilderness. For more than three hours Wishart preached, says Knox, and God wrought so wonderfully with him "that one of the most wicked men in that country, named Laurence Rankin, Laird of Sheill (in the parish of Ochiltree) was converted. The tears ran from his eyes in such abundance that all men wondered. His conversion was without hypocrisy, for his life and conversation witnessed it in all times to come."

It is a touching scene this on the edge of Mauchline moor. A tall, refined and learned preacher stands upon a rough *fail* dyke; strong-featured, weather-beaten farm-labourers mostly, and some shop-keepers and trades-folk, gaze into the flashing eyes and hang upon the burning lips

of the messenger of Christ who delivers a message of grace, mercy, and peace, with a terrible, heart-subduing earnestness and power. The old Gospel sounds in their ears like a fresh clear-voiced trumpet. Hard hearts are broken, and tears plough the cheeks of stout and stubborn men. Sinners of the darkest type sob in penitence, embrace the truth as it is in Jesus, and, breaking with the wicked past, turn unto God with full purpose of heart, and begin a noble life. That scene is worth remembering. It is the first great field-preaching mentioned in Scottish history,—the first of a long series of memorable religious gatherings that have materially helped to quicken the life of the Scottish people, especially in dark degenerate days, when unpatriotic and unsanctified hirelings occupied the pulpits of the Scottish Church.

"While this faithful servant of God was thus occupied in Kyle, word came that the plague of pestilence was risen in Dundee, which began within four days, after that the said Master George was inhibited from preaching, and was so vehement, that it almost passed credibility to hear what number departed every four-and-twenty hours," writes the historian of the Reformation. It is difficult to determine exactly the date of the terrible plague that devastated Dundee during the

sixteenth century, but the traditional period is 1544. Of its real nature we know nothing, although it seems to have succeeded a time of famine. How long it scourged and ravaged Dundee cannot be ascertained; although it is pretty certain it had reached an appalling strength about August, 1545, as an old *Diurnal of Occurrents* states that "in this time the pest was wonderfully great in all burgh towns of this realm, whereby many people died *with great want and scant of victuals.*" The moment the field-preacher learned that the hand of God lay heavily on Dundee, he prepared to leave Ayrshire, and refused to listen to the urgent remonstrances of his friends and followers. He felt that the preacher of the Gospel ought to be prosecuting his sacred vocation among the sick and dying. Hastening to the doleful and ghastly scene, Wishart declared his intention of preaching, and the faithful rejoiced exceedingly. At this period, the town of Dundee was surrounded by a double wall with lofty gates. For the purpose of isolating and protecting the citizens, the plague-stricken were sheltered in temporary booths erected outside the walls. The "sick-yards" were located beyond the East Gate or the Cowgate Port; and in order to address the whole within, and the sick without, Wishart mounted the Portal,



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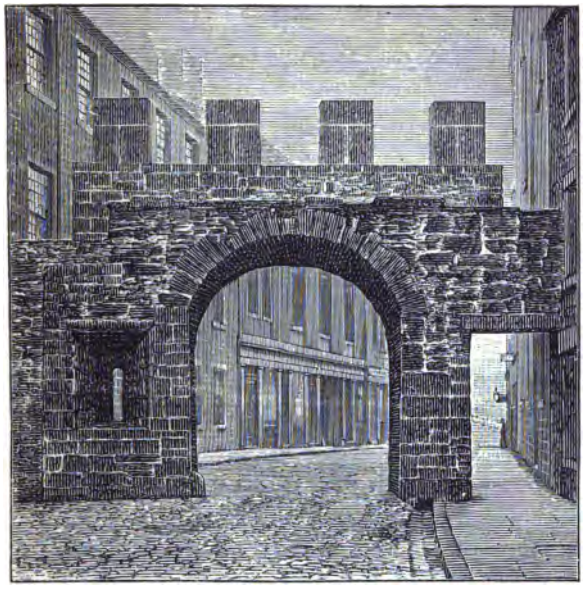
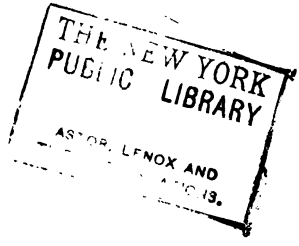


THE WISHART ARCH (COWGATE), DUNDEE.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ASTOR, LENOX AND

which still stands as a monument of his courage and philanthropy, and spoke from the words of the 107th Psalm :—"He sent his word and healed them, and delivered them from their destructions." Knox has preserved a summary of the sermon ; and from it we learn that the preacher treated of the dignity and utility of God's Word, of the punishment that comes from contempt of it, of the promptitude of God's mercy to such as truly turn to Him, and of the great happiness of them whom God saves from misery, "even in His own gentle visitation."

The text from which the Reformer discoursed was exceedingly appropriate, and its significance was enhanced by the nearness of the temporary pulpit to the old chapel of St. Roque,* the patron and friend of all plague-stricken and afflicted people. The shrine of Saint Roque stood a little beyond the Cowgate, and the booths for the sick were doubtless erected in this particular district,

* See Lorimer's *Scottish Reformation*, p. 128. Sir David Lindsay, in describing various altarages during the sixteenth century, writes:

> "Sainct Roch, well seased, men may see,
> A byle new-broken on her thie:
> Sainct Eloy, he doth stately stand,
> A new horse-shoe into his hand."

that the suffering might be enabled to direct their languid eyes and their fervent prayers to the image of the saint. But Wishart knew that the canonized saints were neither intercessors nor healers. And so he directed the poor emaciated sufferers to the strong and all-wise Physician. The burden of his sermon was: "O Lord, it is neither herb nor plaster, but thy Word that healeth all." Nor was Wishart the religious fanatic that some modern historians have fancifully depicted. Like his Divine Master he was a healer as well as a teacher, a sympathetic self-sacrificing brother as well as a fearless prophet. Lowly and tender-hearted, courageous and unselfish, he walked and worked unweariedly among the sick and dying, and bent all his energies to help the helpless, to solace the sorrowful and inspire the despairing with hope. "He spared not to visit them that lay in the deepest extremity; he comforted them as he might in such a multitude; he caused minister all things necessary to those that might use meat or drink; and in that point was the town wonderfully beneficent; for the poor was no more neglected than the rich." *

During those dark days of terror in Dundee

* *Knox's Works*, Vol. I., p. 130.

Wishart manifested the spirit of the Good Samaritan, and the Divine Philanthropist; and yet Rome hunted him down like a beast of prey. In the excitement of the feverish time, the Reformer had forgotten that he was an outlaw, and encompassed by deadly foes. The claims of humanity had completely engrossed his attention, and love for suffering men had made him blind to self-interest. Endeavouring to heal the sick, to comfort the afflicted, to minister to the dying, he forgot the very existence of treacherous prelates and fanatical priests, who were thirsting for his blood. But a hired traitor was lurking in the crowd, waiting an opportunity to take away a precious life. The Reformer had concluded his sermon on a particular occasion, and the people were leaving the East Port, suspecting no danger, when lo! a desperate priest, named Sir John Wightone, appeared at the foot of the steps, "his gown loose, and his whinger drawn into his gown." Wishart, "sharp of eye and judgment," marked him, and as he came dangerously near he said: "My friend, what would ye do?" and thereupon Wishart suddenly seized the murderous hand and wrested the gleaming dagger from it. The priest, abashed and paralysed, fell at the feet of Wishart, confessed his murderous purpose, and barely

escaped with his life; for when the assembled people realised what had been attempted they became furious and cried for vengeance. "Deliver the traitor to us, or else we will take him by force," they shouted angrily, and then burst through the gate, bent upon the fanatic's destruction. The injured man, however, became the traitor's shield. Throwing his arms around the miscreant he said with a nobility of mind worthy of the ambassador of the Prince of Peace and the thorn-crowned King: "Whosoever troubles him shall trouble me; for he has hurt me in nothing, but he has done great comfort both to you and me, to wit, he has let us understand what we may fear in times to come."

Surely the preacher who was capable of such great magnanimity, long-suffering, and gentleness, could not be guilty of plotting the destruction of his worst enemy, or entering into a league with misguided conspirators to compass the death of Cardinal Beaton! To suspect a man who actually took a viper into his bosom when he might have shaken the deadly creature into the fire of fanatical rage,—to suspect him of playing the part of a murderous traitor is, we think, quite unreasonable. We do not wonder when fierce and unscrupulous partisans, like Dempster in his *Ecclesiastical History*,

or Mackenzie in his *Lives of Scots Writers*, endeavour to blacken the reputation of our Reformer by gratuitously assuming that he was the notable "Wysshart" mentioned in the *State Papers* as conspiring with certain gentlemen in Lothian and with King Henry the Eighth, to entrap the Arch-Inquisitor in Scotland; but it is astonishing that modern historians should seem disposed to imitate them. The truth is, there is not a particle of positive evidence to *prove* that George Wishart the Reformer and Martyr was a conspirator, or privy to the assassination of Beaton. The grounds on which the serious charge against George Wishart rests are these:—From the *State Papers** it appears that in May, 1544, "a Scottishman named Wysshart" brought letters from Alexander Crichton of Brunston, in the parish of Pennycuik, in Mid-Lothian, to the Earl of Hertford at Newcastle, and to Henry VIII. at Greenwich, revealing a scheme for the killing of the Cardinal, and requesting the protection of the English King for the conspirators if they should succeed in their desperate attempt. Moreover, it appears from the *Hamilton Papers* that the English Council despatched a message to Hertford,

* *State Papers* (Henry VIII.), V. 377.

couched in the following terms: "Your lordship shall understand that Wishart which came from Brunston hath been with his Majesty . . . and hath received for answer, touching the feat against the Cardinal, that, in case the lords and gentlemen which he named shall enterprise the same earnestly, and do the best they can, to the uttermost of their powers, to bring the same to pass in deed—and thereupon not being able to continue longer in Scotland, shall be enforced to fly into this realm for refuge—his highness will be contented to accept them, and relieve them as shall appertain." *

Now, if it could be clearly shown that *George Wishart* was identical with the "Scottishman named Wysshart" in the *State Papers*, the reputation of the Martyr would be seriously tarnished, and our interest in him materially abated. But the keenest Roman Catholic partisans have failed to identify the Reformer with the stealthy Diplomatist; and modern research has made that work still more difficult, inasmuch as it has discovered that during the Reformation period there were no fewer than *three Scotsmen* of position bearing the name of Wishart, any one of whom

* *Hamilton Papers*, 96. Quoted by Burton in his *History of Scotland*, Vol. III., p. 259.

might have been implicated in the conspiracy to kill Beaton. One was a bailie in Dundee; the second *a brother-germain of John Wishart of Pettarrow;* and the third a procurator in a matter concerning *Georgius Wischart, Armiger Crucis regis Galliæ.**

Nor is there the slightest evidence that the Reformer crossed the Tweed in *1544*, while there is much to confirm the opinion that he spent the whole of that year in Angus and Ayrshire. Although Tytler in his History affirms that the martyr was employed as an Envoy to England in May, 1544, he does not hesitate to state that "from the time of his arrival in the summer of 1543, for more than two years Wishart appears to have remained in Scotland." It is clear that if the Reformer was put to the horn and outlawed, he could not have ventured on the perilous task of travelling into England with letters of conspiracy; and it is equally plain that if Wishart had been guilty of treachery some pointed allusion would have been made to it at his trial.

Mr. J. Hill Burton, the Historian, has treated George Wishart as a political conspirator, and

* See Laing's admirable Note in the Appendix to *Knox's Works*, Vol. I., pp. 536-7.

regarded him as an indispensable figure in a group of infuriated men who looked upon the Cardinal as a messenger of Satan, and who hated him like soot. "To the observer from without," says he, "Wishart the Martyr is part of the group occupied in the affair; removing him from the group breaks it up almost more than the removal of any other—of Leslie, Ormiston, or Brunston."* But George Wishart never appears among the group of *political conspirators.* There is no proof that he knew anything of the Lothian group until he went to preach in Haddington, *at the close of 1545.* The "Scottishman named Wysshart" who entered so readily into the dreadful project of "killing the Cardinal," and carried letters between Brunston and Hertford at Newcastle, and obtained an audience of King Henry, was busy intriguing *in the spring of 1544.* Nor could the Reformer have played the part of conspirator while he was resident in Cambridge; for it is unquestionable that the Scots Commissioners, with whom he travelled home, actually returned to Edinburgh in July, 1543.

Mr. Froude deals more fairly with the character of the Martyr than does his Scottish con-

* *History of Scotland,* Vol. III., pp. 257-61.

temporary. But if Burton is neither just, generous, nor patriotic, the Historian of England is disposed to treat Wishart in a somewhat cavalier fashion. "Wishart," says he, "was a common name in Scotland, and the evidence, therefore, can amount but to a *vague probability.* I see no room to believe, however, that the martyr of St. Andrews was so different from his Protestant countrymen as to have been unlikely to have been the messenger of Hertford, or to have sympathized cordially in the message." * And then he attempts to vindicate the conduct of the conspirators by such considerations as these: The general anarchy and wild justice of the times; the application of Old Testament principles to the desperate situation, and the imitation of the Ehuds, the Jaels, and the Jehoiadas, who fearlessly smote down oppressors in Israel, and were accounted by their co-religionists faithful servants of the true God; and the approval of assassination as an expedient in difficult circumstances by the best men of all persuasions in the sixteenth century! It must be admitted that this defence of Wishart is bold and ingenious; but it is based on an entire misconception of the Reformer's character

* *History of England*, Vol. IV., pp. 28, 29, 180.

George Wishart was a man far in advance of his times; and he was animated by a purely Christian spirit, and dominated by distinctly Christian principles. Knox had not a little in common with the old Hebrew judges and deliverers, but George Wishart was an apostolical man, and indeed a Pauline Christian. He began his eventful career with the study of the Greek New Testament, and throughout he seems to have manifested the spirit of Jesus, and to have inculcated the doctrines of the great writer of the Epistles. Wherever we catch a glimpse of him he is gracious, charitable, peaceable; when he preaches he almost invariably selects a text from the Gospels, or expounds an Epistle. He is not a man of war, but a son of peace. If Knox bore the sword, Wishart carried the healing balm. Fury was not in the Martyr; like the Great Master he forgave and protected the miscreant who sought his life!

As soon as the ravages of the plague had abated in Dundee the Reformer travelled northwards to Montrose, and found a sanctuary in the heart of familiar and constant friends. Exhausted by his diligent ministrations and protracted vigils in Dundee he seldom preached, and spent most of the time in secret meditation, and celestial contemplation. He was never more to visit the scenes of

his boyhood and youthful labours: he seems to have had a presentiment of his approaching death; for he converted the haunts of his school-master days into homes of prayer, and sanctuaries of spiritual discipline. Though he knew it not, death stood literally at the *door*—nearer than he could have anticipated. The wily, sleepless Cardinal was closely watching his movements, and plotting his destruction. Crafty and unscrupulous, Beaton persuaded one of his minions to write Wishart a letter in the name of his familiar friend, John Kinnear of Kinnear, in the parish of Kilmany, desiring him to hasten unto his bedside, as he was stricken down "with a sudden sickness." The boy who carried the missive at midnight had brought a horse to expedite the journey of the Reformer to Fife. Mounting the steed Wishart left the town in the morning, accompanied by "some honest men;" but he had not gone far on the road when he suddenly halted. Musing for a moment, he quickly turned his horse's head toward Montrose. He had seen a vision of death! "I will not go," said he to his wondering companions; "I am forbidden of God; I am assured there is treason." And treason there was. Within a mile and a half of the town three score of the Cardinal's jackmen and spearmen lay in ambush,

ready to spring upon the rider, and despatch him with all possible diligence. Hunted like a bird of prey, Wishart was convinced he was doomed ; but his hour had not yet come. Though scared he was not intimidated. In spite of the earnest remonstrances of the Laird of Dun he shortly afterwards proceeded to Edinburgh on business. Passing through Angus he halted at the hamlet of Invergowrie, pleasantly situated on the banks of the Tay, two miles beyond Dundee. Here he lodged for the night in the house of "a faithful brother, named James Watson," and, like a greater teacher on the road to Calvary, he rose a while before day, stole into a quiet country lane, and prepared for martyrdom. That country lane was a sort of Gethsemane. There the holy man wrestled, and wrestled long and sorely, and prevailed. John Watson and William Spaldin secretly observed his movements ; and they informed Knox that he went up and down the lane sobbing and groaning, fell upon his knees and groaned more deeply, and then fell upon his face and wept and prayed for nearly an hour. If his voice had been loud and his words articulate he might have been heard saying with the Man of Sorrows: "O my Father, if it be possible, let this cup pass from me: nevertheless, not as I will, but as thou wilt."

He had conquered; and though there was no good angel present to comfort him he grew calm, and arose from the ground and went quietly to his chamber. Questioned by those who had seen his agony and heard his bitter cries, he said: "I will tell you that I am assured my travail is near an end, and therefore call to God with me, that now I shrink not when the battle waxes most hot." The heavy news discouraged and distressed the godly men, and while they wept for sorrow the good soldier of the Cross endeavoured to comfort them. And his words of consolation were words of hope and promise: "God shall send you comfort after me. This realm shall be illuminated with the light of Christ's Evangel as clearly as ever was any realm since the days of the Apostles. The house of God shall be builded in to it. Yea, it shall not lack . . the very copestone. Neither shall this be long. There shall not many suffer after me, till the day of God shall evidently appear, and shall once triumph in despite of Satan." We need not claim for George Wishart supernatural gifts or graces, but he certainly possessed the deep prophetical eye of the ecclesiastic and statesman. He had insight and foresight, and a firm faith in the providence of God. He had felt the pulse of the people; he

had calculated the direction and strength of political and religious currents; he had seen men of all ranks and classes drinking in the Reformed doctrines, and manifesting signs of impatience with the Pope's knights, and all instruments of tyranny; and, like a seer, he could easily prognosticate the future. None knew better than he that the path of suffering is the path of victory. The ascension follows the sacrifice of the Cross, and after the ascension, the Spirit of God, through the instrumentality of apostolic men, builds up Zion.

From Invergowrie the Reformer proceeded through the rich Goshen land to Perth, and from Perth he journeyed through Fife to Leith, for the purpose of communing with the Earl of Cassilis and the gentlemen of Kyle and Cunninghame who were favourably disposed to the Reformation. When he arrived at Leith and discovered that his friends had not arrived, he concealed himself from the lurking foe for a day or two; but his spirit drooped in the shade, and he longed to resume active work. Bent on proclaiming the Word of Truth, he declared himself ready to preach if his friends were not afraid to hear: "Dare ye and others hear, and then let my God provide for me as best pleaseth him." Fifteen days before Christmas he expounded the Parable of the Sower, in

Leith, and afterwards marched to the strongholds of the gentlemen in Lothian known to be friendly to the Reformation. The Governor and the Cardinal were daily expected in Edinburgh; and Crichton of Brunston, Douglas of Longniddry, and Cockburn of Ormiston, threw their strong shields around him, and showed him hospitality. Full of zeal, Wishart preached on the following Sunday in the Church of Inveresk, about six miles from Edinburgh, where "there was a great confluence of people, among whom was Sir George Douglas" of Pittendreich, brother of the Earl of Angus. Douglas was "a man of spirit and talent;" of much political sagacity; distinguished for his courtly manners and address; enlightened and powerful. Hitherto he had not manifested much sympathy with the Reformers, but the preaching of Wishart made a deep impression on his mind, and roused his slumbering courage. At the close of the service he openly showed his colours, and said to his friends: "I know that my Lord Governor and Cardinal shall hear that I have been at this preaching. Say unto them that I will avow it, and will not only maintain the doctrine I have heard, but also the person of the teacher to the uttermost of my power." So far well. But even at Inveresk, under the protection of powerful

friends, the Reformer was not quite safe. During the service two Grey Friars stood at the church door whispering. The preacher at first thought they had come to learn, and courteously requested the people to make room for them. However, it soon became apparent that they had come to curse and not to pray; for they ostentatiously sneered at the preacher and troubled the people who were near them. While Wishart was vehemently denouncing idolatry and superstition, he chanced to notice their indecorous and insulting conduct, and turning upon them "an awful countenance," he severely denounced them as sergeants of Satan and deceivers of souls. "Depart," said he, "and take this for your portion,—God shall shortly confound and disclose your hypocrisy; within this realm ye shall be abominable to men, and your places and habitations shall be desolate." That speech was made in anger, but it was truly prophetical. The day was near when God's great servant was to sound the *bugle* that roused the Scottish people, inspired them with a noble and dauntless spirit, which strove and struggled till the Church was thoroughly cleansed from all impurities and errors, and earnest reformed pastors occupied the pulpits of the drivelling and lackadaisical priests! From Inveresk, Wishart went to Tranent,

where he ministered to large enthusiastic congregations, speaking at times very solemnly and pathetically of his own approaching death, and of the nearness of judgment and eternity.

"The holy days of Yule" were festive, and crowds of people were wont to throng the great church of Haddington at that peculiar season. Wishart, watchful of rare opportunities of doing good, and diffusing Gospel light, was desirous of occupying the parish pulpit during the festivities. Obtaining permission from the men in power, he accepted the hospitality of David Forres, a good burgher of the town, who afterwards became General of the Mint; and on the forenoon of the last Sunday of the year he preached to an audience "reasonably large." The afternoon attendance, however, was miserably small, and the "auditure" on the day following was so slender and insignificant, that many wondered. Soon the secret crept out. The Earl of Bothwell, powerful in these parts, and a close friend of the Cardinal, had inhibited the people of Haddington, threatening them with his displeasure if they dared to countenance the new preacher. At the close of his second day's work, Wishart slept in the ancient House of Lethington, a strong old tower, more picturesque than beautiful, standing about a mile south of the

county town. Though occupied by Sir Richard Maitland, who had no decided religious opinions, still Wishart found his host civil and obliging. In the morning, Maitland and his guest walked to the Parish Church in a somewhat sorrowful mood. As Wishart entered the church, a boy from the Westland handed him a letter, which he hastily opened. It contained bad news. The Gentlemen of Ayrshire *could not keep diet at Edinburgh* as they had promised. The Reformer's heart sank within him, and his countenance fell. Dejected, he must have been tempted to say:

> "Men, like butterflies,
> Show not their mealy wings but to the summer."

Summoning Knox, his faithful attendant and armour-bearer, he conversed with him, and declared that he "wearied of the world because he perceived that men began to weary of God." It was the Elijah-like speech of dark disappointment and deferred hope. As the hour of sermon drew nigh, Knox left the preacher to his meditations, but observed him from a distance pacing restlessly and moodily behind the high altar. He passed to the pulpit with "a countenance more in sorrow than in anger"; the small audience was depressing; there was but a voice crying in the wilderness!

The subject of discourse was the Second Table of the Law, but he spoke very little about it. Deeply wounded in spirit, and not a little indignant, perhaps, he thundered against the people, rebuking them for despising the Word of God, and neglecting their own salvation; threatened them with sore plagues if they continued contemptuous, and with the invasion of enemies if they knew not the day of their merciful visitation! For an hour and a half, says Knox, who was present, he vehemently denounced the callous people of Haddington, and "declared all the plagues that ensued, as plainly as after our eyes saw them." Concluding with a short paraphrase of the Second Table of the Law, with an exhortation to patience, to the fear of God, and to works of mercy, he made "his last testament, as the issue declared, that the spread of truth and a true judgment were both in his heart and mouth."

During this period Wishart seems to have met Knox for the first and last time; and there can be no reasonable doubt that the spirit and the mantle of the eloquent and fervid preacher of Angus fell upon the Haddington tutor. If Knox was not converted by Wishart he was at least inspired and educated by him. At Longniddry, situated in Gladsmuir Parish, near

the shores of the Frith of Forth, they seem to have fascinated each other. The house of Longniddry was the residence of Hugh Douglas, a zealous friend of the Reformation; and Knox, rescued from Roman Catholic error by the famous Dominican monk, Thomas Williams of Athalstaneford, had entered the house as family tutor and domestic chaplain. When Wishart found shelter and hospitality in the old country house in East Lothian, he found what he could never have expected—a disciple, able, learned, resolute, and in every way capable of carrying on the work that lay closest to his heart, and of fighting the battle he had begun with a skill, with a valour, with a determination and a commanding genius that have won the admiration of all loyal-hearted and patriotic Scotsmen. It is delightful to think of Wishart and Knox communing together at Longniddry, beautiful to picture to the mind's eye the Reformer marching on to martyrdom, with the Longniddry tutor and chaplain accompanying him, carrying the sword provided for his protection after the discovery of the assassins on the road beyond Montrose. If Wishart was the Scottish Melanchthon,* Knox became the Scottish Calvin, the

* "He is said to have been the worthiest and most pacific of all those who at first supported the new doctrines in this kingdom,

founder of the City of God in our land, and the grandest champion of civil and religious liberty. Having finished his work at Haddington, Wishart said farewell to all his comrades, and parted from Hugh Douglas with feelings of affection and gratitude. As he was about to proceed to Ormiston with John Cockburn, Knox wished to accompany them, but Wishart, recognising the mighty intellect and heart that lay behind the rugged exterior of his devoted disciple, said: "Nay, return to your bairns, and God bless you. One is sufficient for a sacrifice." Thereupon he took the two-handed sword from Knox, "who, albeit unwillinglie, obeyit, and returned with Hew Douglass to Langnudrye." The winter evening was frosty and vehemently cold, and the party of Reformers walked on to Ormiston House. After supper, Wishart talked sweetly and tenderly of the death of God's children, and then said: "Methink that I desire earnestly to sleep." Before retiring, he conducted family-worship, and sang the noble fifty-first psalm, in Scottish metre, as rendered by the Vicar of Dundee:—

and may, for his learning and modesty, be called the Melanchthon of Scotland, though from all the accounts we have of him in the histories of those times, it is not easy to learn whether he was in any degree of holy orders or not." *Skinner's Eccl. Hist.*, Vol. II., p. 20.

" Have mercy on me, O gude Lord,
Efter thy greit mercy
My sinfull life does me remord,
Quhilk sair hes grevit thee :
Bot thy greit grace hes me restord,
Throw grace, to libertie :
To thy mercy with thee will I go."

Earlier than usual he went to bed with the words upon his lips : " God grant quiet rest." But his prayer was not answered. Wicked men wrought stealthily in the dead hour of night. The Governor and Cardinal had scented the prey, and lay in wait in Elphingstone Tower, about a mile distant. The Earl of Bothwell, Lord of Liddesdale, and High Sheriff of the County, was their pliant tool. According to Sir Ralph Sadler, he was "a vain and insolent man of the world, full of pride and folly, nothing at all esteemed ;" and the English Ambassador's estimate of the Earl's character was confirmed by his treatment of the Reformer. He played the part of Judas well ; he betrayed the innocent into the hands of the chief priest with a lie upon his lips. Knocking at the gate of Ormiston House, Bothwell called for the Laird, and demanded Wishart. Fearing the presence of armed men, Cockburn refused to open the gates, and held parley with Bothwell as he stood without. The Earl, smoothed-tongued and utterly

unprincipled, promised on his honour as Sheriff of the County to protect the Reformer against all "harme or skaith." Cockburn knew the character of the traitor, and was disposed to keep him on the other side of the barred and bolted gate. But Wishart, overcome by fair words, or tired of postponing the evil hour he had long foreboded, exclaimed: "Open the gates; the blessed will of God be done." The gate was flung open, and the Laird received Bothwell and his sneaking companions. Suddenly Wishart confronted them. While expressing his conviction that the gentlemen would suffer nothing to be done contrary to the law, he added these significant words: "I am not ignorant that their law is nothing but corruption, and a cloak to shed the blood of the saints; but yet I less fear to die openly than secretly to be murdered." Again Bothwell assured him that he would preserve his body from all violence, and shield him from the Governor and Cardinal; and that he would "retain him in his own hands and in his own place," till he should free him or restore him to the Laird of Ormiston. On these express conditions, and with hands struck in confirmation of the promise made, Master George was delivered up to the Earl, who transported him in the dark, like a partridge in the net of a poacher,

to Elphingstone Tower, and presented him to the Arch-Inquisitor.

It was well, as it transpired, that George Wishart was quietly handed over to the treacherous Bothwell. No resistance could have effected his deliverance. The enemy was strong; 500 soldiers lay at Elphingstone Tower, ready to seize the Reformer by force if the Earl failed to accomplish his purpose by stealth. Indeed, immediately after Wishart had been secured, the noise of horsemen was heard at Ormiston. On the starless morning of the seventeenth day of January, 1546, the soldiers of the Cardinal and Governor burst open the gates of Ormiston, rushed in among the astonished and bewildered servants, and called peremptorily for the Laird. Cockburn and young Sandilands of Calder quickly appeared upon the scene, and demanded their commission. "To bring you two and the Laird of Brunston to the Governor!" Entreating the soldiers to refresh themselves and "bait their horse," Ormiston and Calder withdrew. Meanwhile, Brunston, alarmed and terrified, fled secretly through Ormiston wood, and escaped. But his two companions were less fortunate; they were seized, bound, carried to Edinburgh, and imprisoned in the Castle.

In company with his friends, Wishart was at

first transported to Edinburgh; but to save the honour of Bothwell, the conspirator, it would appear, he was eventually brought back to Hailes Castle, which stood in a sequestered retreat on the banks of the Tyne, in Prestonkirk Parish. But the Reformer was not detained long in the Earl's castle. Conquered by the Cardinal's gold, and the bigoted Queen's blandishments and flatteries, Bothwell soon surrendered his prisoner to the Popish party, and thus even formally broke his word of honour and belied his fair promises.* The Popish party rejoiced at the capture of Wishart, and in a few days they triumphed; for the detested preacher lay in the horribly dark and loathsome sea-tower of the Cardinal's castle at St. Andrews, waiting a mock-trial, and preparing for martyrdom!

* "The Laird refused to deliver him till the Earl of Bothwell came and was cautioner, upon his faith and honour, to keep him skaithless. Nevertheless, this facile Earl was enticed by the Cardinal to render him into his hands; who carried him to St. Andrews, and imprisoned him in the sea-tower. But from this time forth, the Earl Bothwell prospered never, neither any of his affairs.—*Lindsay of Pitscottie's History*, p. 188 (Edit. 1728).

VI.

GEORGE WISHART, THE MARTYR.

"But what the guilt that on the dead a fate so fearful drew?
A blameless faith was all the crime a Christian martyr knew;
And where the crimson current flowed upon the barren sand,
Up sprung a tree, whose vigorous boughs soon overspread the land."

—*Hamilton Buchanan.*

HISTORY repeats itself because human nature never changes. Caiaphas the Jew, and Pilate the Roman, are representative characters: the one is the embodiment of priestly fanaticism and intolerance, the other of worldly wisdom, of political expediency, and moral cowardice. The High Priest of Israel, blinded by pride and prejudice, confounds the Messiah with a dangerous fanatic and daring blasphemer, and thirsts for his blood. The Roman Governor of Judea, stoically just and calm, scornful of all religious partisans and sectarian jealousies, discovers in Jesus of Nazareth a faultless man. But the crafty and cruel Priest triumphs over the Governor, by appealing to his selfish motives and worldly ambitions, and per-

suades him to deliver the Galilean Teacher into his hands. Fifteen centuries later, Caiaphas and Pilate reappear in Cardinal Beaton and the Earl of Arran—High Priest and Governor in Scotland during the first quarter of the year 1546. Full of fanatical zeal and hatred, perhaps animated by fear too, the Priest hounds Wishart to death; while the Governor, conscience-stricken and vacillating, is desirous of protecting the innocent man from his terrible foe. But ultimately the Churchman overcomes the Civil Magistrate by urging the old-fashioned, worldly-wise, yet thoroughly mean and contemptible plea: "If thou let this man go, thou art not Cæsar's friend."

Thus, cast into Beaton's net, the evangelical preacher soon found himself in the east sea-tower of the Castle of St. Andrews—a sullen bottle-shaped dungeon hewn out of the solid rock, whose dreariness was only deepened by the lapping of the lazy wave, or the booming of the stormy billows. The castle, situated on the bare and breezy headland, north of the city, is now a grim, weather-beaten, and dilapidated tower, affording the visitor no proper idea of what the home of the great prelates was in the days of Papal supremacy. But so long as the crumbling ruin stands, it must be an object of curious interest to

every patriotic Scotsman. For here King James the First was educated ; and here King James the Third was born. Here Patrick Hamilton was imprisoned before he marched forth with quick firm step to the bonfire and the crown of martyrdom ; and here, too, George Wishart lay bound in irons, from the end of January to the first day of March, 1546.

Thirsting for the blood of the captive, Beaton frequently attempted to secure "a commission and a judge-criminal to give doom on Master George if the clergy found him guilty ;" but he failed in all his endeavours. All men knew what the clergy would do when the Cardinal sat upon the tribunal. Would they not bully, silence, condemn, hang and burn the Evangelist? Even the Governor of the Kingdom grew cautious and timid when Beaton spoke of a lay-commission. Although he had weakly and criminally delivered Wishart into the Cardinal's hands, he revolted at the idea of Wishart's blood lying upon him, and crying to Heaven for vengeance. In Sir David Hamilton of Preston the Regent found a wise adviser, who powerfully supported him in the hour of temptation. "I marvel, Sir," said Hamilton, "for what reason you thus consent to the murder of the preachers of Christ's Evangel

whereof you have been a professor yourself; yea, seeing you yourself have commanded and desired all men to read and exercise the Old and New Testaments, which is the only Dittay against Mr. George Wishart. You are now, by the Grace of God, advanced to the place of a king in Scotland; you ought, therefore, to honour God who hath honoured you, by procuring a free passage to His Word through this Realm; which, if you neglect, trust not to have so good success in your affairs as before you have found. Remember how God rent the kingdom from Saul, and gave it to David, for his disobedience."* But Beaton was too haughty and imperious to be thwarted and defeated in his plans by one so irresolute as the Regent Arran. If the Civil Magistrate refused to share the responsibility of burning the heretic, the Churchmen would bear their own burden. Soliciting aid from the Archbishop of Glasgow, the Cardinal made him a partaker of his guilt. Hitherto Beaton and Dunbar had been at enmity; but they forgot past feuds in their common ardour to purge the Church. Pompous and jealous of his honour and dignity, the Archbishop, "Good Gukstone Glaikstour," had openly quarrelled with the

* *Lindsay of Pitscottie's History*, p. 188 (Edit. 1728).

Cardinal over the paltry question of priority in a splendid procession in the Cathedral of Glasgow. As Primate and the Pope's Nuncio, Beaton had certainly the right of ecclesiastical precedence ; but Dunbar, "proud as a peacock," in his gorgeous vestments and tinsel finery, insisted on heading the procession and conducting it out of the choir door of his own Church. Indignant at the Western prelate's presumption, the Cardinal refused to follow with his gilded cross, and strife ensued. The broken bonds of friendship, however, were welded together in the fires of a common hatred. Dunbar had not forgotten the preacher who invaded his Diocese, captivated the people of Ayr by his eloquence, and drew the multitudes into the fields to worship ; and so he readily accepted the Cardinal's invitation, hastened to St. Andrews, occupied a prominent seat on the tribunal, voted first against Wishart, then subscribed the deed of death, and finally gloated over the barbarous spectacle of the martyrdom.

The trial of George Wishart is invested with singular interest, and we shall examine its details.*

* Lindsay of Pitscottie and Foxe the Martyrologist are the best authorities on the subject of Wishart's trial and martyrdom. Foxe acknowledges that he borrowed his information regarding most of the Scottish Worthies from written testimonies of Scotsmen on the

The tribunal of Bishops was constituted in the Abbey Church of St. Andrews on the twenty-eighth day of February; and the preacher was conducted from the dungeon to the church by the Captain of the Castle and his men of war, armed with jack, knapsal, splent, spear, and axe. Like a lamb, the Reformer went to the slaughter; and at the close of his career manifested the Christian virtues and graces which distinguished him at Cambridge and Dundee. His last act was an act of charity. As he entered the Abbey Church he flung his purse to a poor lame man, "vexed with great infirmities."

The proceedings of the memorable day were be-

ground (*Ex Scripto Testimonio Scotorum*), but his account of Wishart's accusation was quoted from a printed work (*Ex Histor: Impressa*). This work seems to have been a tractate entitled "The Tragical Death of David Beato, Bishoppe of Sainct Andrewes in Scotland; Whereunto is joyned the Martyrdom of Maister George Wyscharte, Gentleman, for whose sake the aforesaid bishoppe was not long after slain. . . . . Imprinted at London, by John Day, and William Seres, dwelling in Sepulchres Parish at the sign of the Resurrection, a little above Hoburn Conduct." The Tragedy of Beaton is printed in small letter; the Trial of Wishart in large black letter. It is without a date, but it must have been published before 1560, as it was very dear and scarce when Knox wrote his history. The *Actes and Monumentes* was originally published at London by John Daye in 1564, and it would appear that Knox copied his account of Wishart's trial from this early edition of Foxe. See M'Crie's *Life of Knox* (Notes), p. 400; *Knox's Hist.*, Vol. I., pp. 170, 171 (Laing's edit.).

gun with a sermon, and the preacher was John Winram, Sub-Prior of the Abbey. A reformer at heart, he was not disposed to deal harshly with Wishart. Discoursing on the thirteenth chapter of Matthew's Gospel, he described the good seed of the kingdom as the Word of God, and the evil seed as heresy. He justly defined heresy as "a false opinion defended with pertinacity, clearly repugning the Word of God," and declared that the cause of heresy in the realm was "the ignorance of them that have the cures of men's souls." After enforcing the importance of a true knowledge of the Scriptures, he proceeded to note the qualifications of a good bishop; and when he quoted St. Paul's words to Titus: "A bishop must be faultless, as it becometh the minister of God, not stubborn, nor angry; no drunkard, no fighter, not given to filthy lucre, but harbourous; one that loveth goodness; sober-minded, righteous, holy, temperate, and such as cleaveth unto the true word of doctrine, that he may be able to exhort with wholesome learning, and to disprove that which they say against him," many of the clergy must have felt the arrow of rebuke rankling in their breast. Then he clearly showed how heresies might be infallibly tested and known: "As the goldsmith knoweth the fine gold from the imper-

fect, by the touchstone, so likewise may we know heresy by the undoubted touchstone; that is, the true, sincere, and undefiled Word of God." And, finally, he inculcated a doctrine peculiarly Romish, but distinctly opposed to the plain sense of his text. "Heretics," said he, "should be put down in this present life by the civil magistrate and law;" but Christ in the Gospel said: "Nay; lest while ye gather up the tares, ye root up also the wheat with them. Let both grow together until the harvest."

As soon as Winram descended from the pulpit, Wishart mounted it to hear "his accusation and articles." Master John Lauder was the public prosecutor. He was a man of some importance in his day, and had won distinction in the Church by the flaming zeal which he manifested in the suppression of preachers who exposed the errors of Rome.* Of violent temper, of coarse tastes, and of hard flinty heart, he was a blustering, blundering priest, a facile instrument in the hands of the bishops, and always ready to perform any dis-

* Lauder was a licentiate of St. Andrews in 1508, and he must have been a pretty old man when he acted as Wishart's accuser. He filled many ecclesiastical offices. He was, at different times, the Agent for the Beatons at Rome, Parson of Morebattle, Archdeacon of Teviotdale, Notary Public at St. Andrews, and the Secretary of Archbishop Hamilton.

agreeable service for them. While playing the part of accuser in Wishart's trial, he showed himself in his true colours. His conduct was that of a cowardly bully. In addressing the Reformer his object was to terrify him into submission and silence, and so he heaped threats and maledictions on his head, and "hit him so spitefully with the Pope's thunder, that the ignorant people dreaded lest the earth then would have swallowed him up." Patiently and serenely Wishart listened to his babbling. The calm face of the accused man roused his passionate anger. Frenzied, the sweat ran down his cheeks, and the froth foamed at his mouth. Then he insolently spit in Master George's face, and shouted: "What answerest thou to these sayings, thou runnagate, traitor, thief! which we have duly proved by sufficient witness against thee." Falling on his knees, the good soldier of Jesus Christ prayed for wisdom and strength, and then proceeded to answer for himself. After declaring that many of Lauder's statements were abominable to him, he besought a patient hearing that they might know the real nature of the doctrine he believed. He desired to be heard quietly for three reasons: First, "because, through preaching of the Word of God, his glory is made

manifest"; Secondly, because "health springeth of the Word of God, for he worketh all things by his Word"; and Thirdly, because "it is just and reasonable that your discretions should know what my words and doctrines are, and what I have ever taught in my time in this realm, that I perish not unjustly, to the great peril of your souls."

"Meantime I shall recite my doctrine without any colour. First and chiefly, since the time I came into this realm, I taught nothing but the Ten Commandments of God, the Twelve Articles of the Faith, and the Prayer of the Lord in the mother tongue. Moreover, in Dundee I taught the Epistle of St. Paul to the Romans." Suddenly the passionate Lauder interrupted the speaker: "Thou heretic, runnagate, traitor, and thief! it was not lawful for thee to preach. Thou hast taken the power at thine own hand, without any authority of the Church. We forethink that thou hast been a preacher too long." The assembled prelates supported their spokesman, saying: "If we give him license to preach, he is so crafty, and in the Holy Scriptures so exercised, that he will persuade the people to his opinion, and raise them against us." Discerning their malicious disposition and purpose, Master George appealed from the Cardinal to the Governor, in the hope of obtaining

justice from an impartial judge; but he was instantly silenced by the thunder and lightning of Lauder's satanic rage, and the derision of the people. "Is not my Lord Cardinal the second person within the realm, Chancellor of Scotland, Archbishop of St. Andrews, Bishop of Mirepoix, Commendator of Aberbrothock, Legatus natus, Legatus à latere? And so, reciting as many titles of his unworthy honours as would have laden a ship, much sooner an ass, "Is not he," quoth John Lauder, "an equal judge apparently unto thee? Whom else desirest thou to be thy judge?"

Then the Cardinal read the articles against him "that the people might not complain of his wrongful condemnation;" and Wishart answered the various charges as fully as he was permitted to speak. As will be seen, they deal mainly with the sacraments.

1. Charged with being a deceiver of the people, a despiser of holy Church, and particularly with persisting in preaching after the Governor had commanded him to desist, and the Bishop of Brechin had cursed him, and delivered him into the hands of the Devil, Wishart replied that it was "not lawful to desist from the preaching of the Gospel for the threats and menaces of men.

Therefore, it is written, We shall rather obey God than man. I have also read in Malachi, 'I shall curse your blessings, and bless your cursings, saith the Lord.'"

II. "Thou, false heretic! didst say, that the priest, standing at the altar, saying mass, was like a fox wagging his tail in July." "My lords! I said not so," replied Wishart. "These were my sayings: 'The moving of the body outward, without the inward moving of the heart, is nought else but the playing of an ape, and not the true serving of God. For God is a secret searcher of men's hearts: therefore who will truly adore and honour God, he must in spirit and verity honour him.'"

III. Accused of preaching against *the Sacraments*, and denying that they were seven in number; the Reformer answered that he had "never taught of the number of the Sacraments, whether they were seven or eleven. So many as were instituted by Christ he professed openly. The evangel was his Directory."*

IV. Charged with denying that *Auricular Confes-*

* Alexander Alesius, in his answer to Bishop Stokesley in the House of Convocation (1537) put the argument well: "Sacraments be seals ascertaining us of God's good will. Without the Word there is no certainty of God's good will. Therefore without the Word there be no sacraments."

sion was one of the sacraments, and with teaching that men should confess to God, and not to the priest in the confessional-box; he averred that auricular confession could not be a Sacrament since it had no promise of the Gospel, and argued that while St. James said: "Acknowledge your faults one to another, and pray for one another, that you may be healed," the Psalmist David wrote: "I thought I would acknowledge mine iniquity against myself unto the Lord, and he forgave the punishment of my sin."*

The bishops and their accomplices were indignant when they heard Wishart's answer. It was weighty and incontrovertible. "Grinning with their teeth," they said: "See ye not what colours he hath in speaking, that he may beguile and seduce us to his opinion?"

V. Accused of teaching that it was important and necessary for all who presented children for *Baptism* to understand the nature of the sacrament, and the vows to be taken thereupon, he shrewdly replied that as there was none "so unwise as to make merchandise with a Frenchman, or any other unknown stranger, except he knew and understood first the condition or promise

* James v. 16. Psalm xxxii. 5.

made by the Frenchman, so likewise I would that we understood what thing we promise in the name of the infant unto God in baptism." The homely but convincing analogy staggered Master Blecter, the chaplain. Unable to find a good argument to confute the defender he substituted a fresh accusation to afford an outlet for the boiling lavas of his wrath. "He hath a devil within him, and the spirit of error," said Blecter; but a child standing by exclaimed: "The devil cannot speak such words as yonder man doth speak."

VI. Then the prosecutor charged him with rejecting the dogma of *Transubstantiation*, and saying "that the sacrament of the altar was but a piece of bread baked upon ashes, and no other thing else; and all that is there done is but a superstitious rite." To this accusation Wishart replied that he had never taught anything against the Scripture, and that he would rather die than sacrifice the truth of God. The lawful and scriptural use of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper was acceptable to God, and the abuse of it detestable. Moreover, the doctrine of Transubstantiation, involving the bodily presence of Christ on earth in innumerable places of worship at the same moment, was a stumbling-block to earnest men. Sailing down the Rhine he had encountered a Jew

who had chid him for tolerating idols in the church, and worshipping "a piece of bread baken upon the ashes" as a god! Here he was suddenly checked and insulted: shaking their heads the bishops spat on the earth contemptuously, and refused to permit him to expound his views concerning the Lord's Supper. Receiving with a blind and childish credulity the awful dogma of Transubstantiation, the bishops regarded the Protestant and Calvinistic dissenter as a rationalizing and dangerous infidel, whose words were the very poison of asps.

VII. Accused of denying that *Extreme Unction* was a genuine sacrament; he simply asserted that he had never ventured to express an opinion on the subject.

VIII. Charged with affirming that "*Holy Water* was not so good as wash" and that the "cursings of the Church availed nothing;" he replied that he had never spoken of the strength of holy water or condemned conjurings and exorcisms that were sanctioned by the Word of God.

IX. Enraged and disappointed, the public prosecutor now pounced upon the "false heretic and runnagate," and accused him of teaching that *every layman was a priest, and that the Pope was no more powerful spiritually than any other man.*

Wishart calmly stated that St. John and St. Peter plainly inculcated the doctrine of the priesthood of all true believers; and, furthermore, he affirmed that no man, whatever his estate or order, could bind or loose, who was not in possession of the instrument of binding or loosing—namely, the Word of God. This answer of the Reformer tickled the bishops, for they laughed and mocked. Clearly they regarded him as a presumptuous and visionary fanatic; but he was nevertheless a noble and learned Biblical theologian, one who substituted the pure doctrines of Christianity for the irrational traditions and superstitions of pharisaical priests. Indignant at the frivolous and mocking bishops, Wishart administered to them a gentle but dignified rebuke. "Laugh ye, my lords? Though these sayings appear scornful and worthy of derision to your lordships, nevertheless they are very weighty to me, and of great value, because they stand not only upon my life, but also the honour and glory of God." Beholding the patience of the Reformer, and contrasting it with the ferocious cruelty of the bishops, "godly men mourned and lamented," says Foxe; but no tear of sorrow, no wail of anguish touched the hard and flinty hearts of the frenzied Churchmen. They had assembled not to convert an

erring brother, but to condemn him; and, consequently, they would listen to no scriptural argument or plaintive entreaty.

X. Now the theologians become metaphysicians, and, like Milton's angels, "reason on foreknowledge, freewill, and fate."

Charging Wishart with teaching *Necessitarianism*, with holding that the human will has no freedom of choice, and that all desire is of God; the Reformer argued that all Christians possess the freedom wherewith the Son maketh his brethren free, and that all unbelievers are the bondservants of sin. "If the Son make you free, ye shall be free indeed," but he that sinneth is bound to sin.*

XI. Descending from high speculations on the freedom of the will, to babblings concerning the childish and ascetical practices of the Romish Church, the prosecutor charged the Reformer with asserting that it was quite as lawful *to eat flesh upon Friday as on Sunday.* The accused had become a Bible-Christian, and he had grown as catholic and broad in his opinions and sympathies as the Apostle of the Gentiles. He had learned from the Epistles that "to the pure all things are pure," that to the faithful

* John viii.

man "all things are sanctified by the Word of God and prayer:" and consequently he argued that the kingdom of God did not consist in meat and drink, but in righteousness and peace and love; and that while a creature cannot sanctify an impure man, a faithful man, clean and holy, can sanctify, by the Word, the creature of God.*

Wishart's answer maddened the ritualistic bishops. Unspiritual and shallow-souled, their religion was a thing of external ceremonies. Possessed of no noble passion for truth and righteousness, destitute of that "jubilant pining and longing for God which is the balsam and wine of predestinate wills," hungering for no Bread of Everlasting Life, they substituted, like the sanctimonious and grovelling Pharisees of old, the husk of religion for the kernel, form for substance, the letter for the spirit, religious observances for a life of faith and fellowship

* To a Member of the Privy Council of England, Sadler the Ambassador at Holyrood Palace wrote: "I have no good-will here of the bishops and priests, nor any of their band, which is yet too strong for the other side, as far as I can see. They raised a bruit here, "that I and all my folks did eat flesh here as hereticks and Jews;" and thereupon open proclamation was made by commandment of the Cardinal, in all the churches within the diocese, "that whosoever should buy an egg, or eat an egg, within those dioceses, should forfeit no less than his body to the fire, to be brunt as an heretick, and all his goods confiscate to the king."—*Sadler State Papers*, Vol. I. pp. 47, 48.

with the divine and the personal God. And so when the reformer slighted their perfectly harmless, but unscriptural and unwarrantable custom of abstaining from flesh on Friday, when Christ died upon the Cross, they regarded him as a heinous sinner fit only for burning. "What needeth us any witness against him?" said the dignitaries who sat as spiritual judges. "Hath he not here openly spoken blasphemy?"

XII. Satisfied that the reformer was the foe of all the ascetical practices and traditional doctrines of the Church, the prosecutor forthwith tested him on questions of faith.

The first question pertained to *the lawfulness and efficacy of prayers to departed saints.* Charged with proclaiming the futility of such prayers Wishart boldly affirmed that the Scriptures, on which he took his stand, inculcated the doctrine of Christ's alone intercession, while they distinctly discountenanced any tenet such as the invocation of saints. Praying to God through the one great Mediator and High Priest, they were assured of being heard and answered; but they were uncertain whether the *saints* could even hear an unsafe invocation. The one way was sure, the other unsafe; and he exhorted all men to choose the sure way.

XIII. Accused next of preaching against the

Romish doctrine of *Purgatory*, and of calling it a *feigned thing;* he answered that although he had read over the Bible divers times he had found no such doctrine or term as Purgatory. And then he turned upon Master John Lauder, the prosecutor, and said: "If you have any testimony of the Scripture, by which you may prove any such place, show it now before this auditory." "But the dolt," says Foxe, was "as dumb as a beetle in that matter."

XIV. Returning to the attack, Lauder accused Wishart of preaching against the lawfulness of *monastic vows*, and of agitating for liberty for priests to marry wives. The Reformer at once declared his admiration of chaste men, who had voluntarily become eunuchs for the Kingdom of Heaven's sake, but he plainly affirmed, after St. Paul, that marriage was honourable in all, and necessary for the incontinent.

XV. Asked whether he would obey *general and provincial councils;* he replied that he would not disagree with anything that agreed with the Word of God. Then the ravening wolves turned unto madness and said: "Wherefore do we let him speak any further? Read forth the rest of the articles and stay not upon them." Among these cruel tigers there was one called John Scot, stand-

ing at Lauder's back, urging him to read rapidly the rest of the articles, and forbidding him to tarry upon Wishart's witty and godly answers. "For we may not abide them," quoth he, "no more than the devil can abide the sign of the cross when it is named."

XVI. Proceeding hastily, the prosecutor charged the prisoner with teaching that it is "vain to build to the honour of God *costly churches*, seeing that God remaineth not in churches made with men's hands, nor yet can God be in so little space as betwixt the priest's hands" (alluding to the wafer in the mass). Wishart's reply was admirable. Having expatiated on the greatness and incomprehensibility of God, and having appositely quoted the sublime and beautiful sayings of Job and Solomon on the subject, he flatly denied the main charge, and declared that churches should be sustained for the purposes of preaching the Word of God, and of celebrating the Sacraments in a lawful manner, and concluded by asserting that though God could not be comprehended in any place, He was present wheresoever two or three were gathered together in His name.

XVII. Charged with contemning *fasting;* he replied that fasting was enjoined in the Gospel, and that it was beneficial for the health of the body.

XVIII. And finally, when he was accused of promulgating the heretical doctrine of *the sleep of the soul*, he affirmed that the souls of believers in Christ should never sleep, but should daily grow until they were crowned with immortal strength and beauty!

Notwithstanding Wishart's scriptural and admirable answers to all the charges, the Cardinal and Prelates adjudged him a heretic worthy of death, and sentenced him to the burning. Conducted back to the castle, Wishart waited patiently and calmly for death by fire, on the following day. Meanwhile Beaton despatched Friar Scot and his companion to the Castle to hear Wishart's last confession; but he would have nothing to do with them. He thought of Dean Winram, the preacher of the day, and he signified to his visitors his readiness to "open his mind to the godly man." On the appearance of Winram, the Reformer was comforted. The Dean wept with many tears, acknowledged Mr. George's innocence, and inquired whether he would have his sacrament. "Yea, gladly, if I might have it as Christ instituted it." Returning to the Prelates, Winram urged Wishart's innocence, and pleaded for his deliverance. But the Cardinal was obdurate, and, hinting at the pleader's reforming tendencies and

influence upon the noviciates entrusted to his care in the Priory, said: "Well, sir, and you, we know what a man you are seven years ago." Then Winram asked permission to administer the last sacrament to the man who was waiting for death, but he was told that a condemned heretic could have no benefit of the Church. "With this answer," says Pitscottie, "the Sub-Prior returned to Mr. George; and, having promised to pray each one for the other, they parted with shedding of tears." But if the Cardinal refused to allow the Reformer the last consolations of the Christian religion, the Captain of the Castle, and the gentlemen who were with him, manifested real sympathy with the prisoner, and showed him not a little kindness. Inviting him to dine with them, Wishart gladly consented. "With a good will," said he, "and more gladly than ever heretofore, because I perceive ye are good men and godly, and that this shall be my last meat on earth. But I exhort you that you would give me audience, with silence for a little time, while I bless this meat, which we shall eat as brethren in Christ; and thereafter I will take my leave of you." The table was covered; the bread was placed thereon; and for half an hour Mr. George discoursed on the death and passion of the

Saviour, exhorting all to love and charity, as the members of Christ Jesus. Having blessed the bread and wine he ate and drank himself, and then gave the elements to those about him. He was going to taste a bitter cup, and that because of his fidelity to the truth, and zeal for the glory of God, and so he said: "Pray ye for me and I for you, that our meeting may be in the joys of Heaven, with our Father, since there is nothing in earth but anxiety and sorrow." When he had said this "he gave thanks to God and retired to his devotion."

While Wishart was praying and contemplating the eternal splendours, the Cardinal's men were busily engaged in the erection of a scaffold "without the castle-gate against the west block-house, where the bishops might ly on the wall-heads, and see the sacrifice." Fearing lest the friends of the Reformer might attempt to rescue him, the Cardinal "commanded to bend all the ordnance of the Castle right against that part, and commanded all the gunners to be ready and stand beside their guns, until such time as he was burned." When the scaffold was erected, and the artillery charged, and the wall-heads of the Castle "spread with cushions and green cloths," and armed men stood around, Wishart, with his hands bound be-

hind his back, marched under guard to the place of execution. As he was about to step upon the scaffold some beggars assailed him for alms, but as his hands were bound he was permitted only to give them his benediction, and to implore "the merciful Lord, of his benignity and abundance of grace," to bestow upon them all that was good for their souls and bodies. Escaping thus from the beggars, who are the natural satellites of Rome, he was confronted by two friars, who exhorted him "to pray to our lady" that she might intercede for him, but he meekly answered: "Cease, tempt me not, my brethren!" With a rope round his neck, and a chain of iron about his waist, he was led to the fire, and he went submissively and courageously. When he came to the stake he fell on his knees, and thrice said: "O thou Saviour of the world! have mercy on me. Father of Heaven! I commend my spirit into Thy holy hands."

After prayer he turned to the crowd, and besought them right manfully "not to be offended in the Word of God, for the afflictions and torments which they saw prepared for him." Then he exhorted them to love the Word of God, and to suffer patiently and with a comfortable heart for it. "For the Word's sake," said he, "I suffer this day by

man, not sorrowfully, but with a glad heart and mind: for this cause I was sent, that I should suffer this fire, for Christ's sake. Consider and behold my visage, ye shall not see me change my colour. The grim fire I fear not. And so I pray you to do, if any persecution come unto you for the Word's sake; and not to fear them that slay the body, and afterwards have no power to slay the soul. Some have said of me that I taught that the soul of man should sleep until the last day. But I know surely, aud my faith is such, that my soul shall sup with my Saviour Christ this night (ere it be six hours), for whom I suffer this." Having thus addressed the assembled people, he, in the spirit of Christian charity, prayed for his persecutors: "I beseech Thee, Father of Heaven! to forgive them that have of any ignorance, or else have of any evil mind, forged any lies upon me: I forgive them with all my heart. I beseech Christ to forgive them that have condemned me to death this day ignorantly." And finally, he uttered these words of warning and entreaty: "I beseech you, brethren and sisters, to exhort your prelates to the learning of the Word of God, that they at the last may be ashamed to do evil, and learn to do good. And if they will not convert themselves from their wicked error, there shall hastily come upon them the wrath of

God which they shall not eschew!"* These words, it will be observed, are perfectly general, and they are as truly christian in sentiment as those spoken by our Lord Himself when he foretold the destruction of Jerusalem. It is easy, of course, for partisans who have rushed to the premature conclusion that the Martyr was a political conspirator, to discern in them a prophecy based on secret knowledge of a deep-laid and dark plot to compass Cardinal Beaton's death; but to unbiassed writers, who dispense with coloured spectacles, they appear simply to embody a general principle frequently enforced in Scripture, That "the way of the wicked is as darkness." How natural for a religious man,

* It is notable that the more minute and picturesque prophecy fastened upon the Martyr is neither found in Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*, nor in the *early* editions of Knox's *History of the Reformation*. It is found in the edition of Knox's *History*, published by David Buchanan in 1644. The passage is certainly spurious, and we have consequently omitted it in the text. It runs:—"Then M. Wischarde, looking towards the Cardinal, said, He who in such state, from that high place, feedeth his eyes with my torments, within few days shall be hanged out at the same window, to be seen with as much ignominy as he now leaneth there in pride. Then with this, the executioner drawing the cord, stoet his breath; presently after, the fire being great, he was consumed to powder." We may safely conclude that this prophecy was never uttered by Wishart, inasmuch as Knox, who was in the castle with the men who assassinated Beaton, does not mention it. Nor is it repeated by the author who supplied Foxe with his information, nor yet by Sir David Lindsay, who wrote *The Tragedy of the Cardinal.*

profoundly conscious of his own innocence and of the ignorance and blindness of the prelates who had condemned him to death, to implore his "brethren and sisters to exhort their prelates to the learning of the Word of God"! How fitting that one standing on the verge of the eternal world should warn his persecutors of the wrath of God that cometh on the children of darkness and disobedience, and call them to repentance! Surely a dying man cannot be blamed if he manifest intense earnestness, and use language of extraordinary strength and vividness. To burn a human being, a brother man, because he holds fast by what he in the deeps of his soul believes to be eternal truth, is red-handed murder; and what wonder if the helpless victim of fanatical hate and intolerance should at the last express his opinion of his enemies in violent language, and invoke the vengeance of Eternal Justice! But George Wishart exhibited no vindictive spirit, and his words were not words of threatening but of warning and entreaty. Indeed, the amazing fortitude, the extraordinary patience and long-suffering and meekness he displayed in the face of terrible temptations, have endeared him to all his more serious countrymen, and have entitled him to rank among the foremost of the Scottish Worthies.

Having spoken his last word to the crowd around the stake, he turned to the poor, miserable hangman, who, on bended knee, implored his forgiveness. "Come hither to me," said the Martyr; and when the trembling wretch approached him, the good soldier of Jesus Christ, full of tender affection and compassion, fell on his neck and kissed him. "Lo! here is a token that I forgive thee. My heart, do thine office." Now the Martyr calmly looked death in the face. He leapt upon the pyre as though Elijah had come to take him home in his fiery chariot. Bound to the stake with chains, he possessed his soul in patience and never quailed. Ah! these were the heroes. Just as the executioner applied the fire to the powder and wood a wild storm burst upon the inhuman scene, which terrified the spectators, and befriended like an angel of mercy the doomed man. With "a vehement blast of wind from the sea," says a contemporary historian, stone walls were overthrown, and those who sat upon them beholding the tragedy of the hour were hurled into the Bishop's Yard, and some fell into the draw-well, whereof two were drowned. But if the stormy wind wrought havoc among the crowd, it brought a blessing to the sufferer in the fire. Fanning the fire into a bounding

blaze, it hastened the termination of his torments." When "burnt all beneath the middle," a spectator requested him to give some sign of his constancy in the Faith. To the joy of his friend, and to the astonishment of his foes, "he leapt up a foot high in the fire." His sufferings were unmitigated by a single act of charity, or strong word of consolation. Regarding him as a son of perdition, the clergy threatened with cursing all who should venture even to pray for him. But as soon as the people saw him "burned to powder," the tide of generous feeling rose in their breasts. Melted into tears, "they bitterly complained of the slaughter of this innocent lamb."

"The martyrdom," says the old chronicler, "was committed the first of March, one thousand five hundred and forty-six; whereof the clergy were highly puffed up with pride and insolence, which shortly turned to mischief."

So died George Wishart at the age of thirty-three.* He was a great gift to Scotland. Next to Knox, our greatest Scotsman, whom he moulded

* In the old churchyard of Fordun, overlooking the valley of the Luther, a granite obelisk, crowned with an urn, stands, bearing the following inscription:—"This monument is erected to the memory of one of Scotland's first and most illustrious martyrs, George Wishart of Pitarrow, in this Parish; and as a testimony of gratitude to the great Head of the Church, for the work of the Re-

and inspired, Wishart did more than any other man to advance the cause of the Reformation; and the Reformation was the spring of our country's greatness. As a scholar, evangelist, and confessor, he rendered incalculable services to our country.

He was an accomplished *scholar.** Dempster, the unscrupulous and blind advocate of the Roman Church, boldly affirms that "he was a man of no letters, but of great forwardness and impudence," and Mackenzie, the biographer of *Scots Writers*, follows him; but no statement could be more groundless. The son of a gentleman and a scholar, carefully educated at Aberdeen under men trained at Paris, George Wishart was the first Scotsman who taught Greek in his native land, and helped earnest students to

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formation, on behalf of which his servant suffered. He was born in 1513, and was burned at St. Andrews, 1st March, 1546." "The righteous shall be held in everlasting remembrance." The obelisk was erected in 1850.

*"*Dempster* tells us that Mr. *Wisheart* wrote a book against *Quintin Kennedy*, Abbot of *Cross-Regal*, and uncle to the Lord *Cassils*, and another upon the Lord's Supper, from the writings of *Luther*; and *Knox* says he wrote some things in prison which his enemies destroyed. But we have nothing now extant of his that I know of, but some Extracts of Sermons, and Conferences in *Fox's* Martyrology, *Knox* his History, and our other Historians."—Mackenzie's *Lives of Scots Writers*, Vol. III., p. 18 (edit. 1722).

read the New Testament in the language in which it was originally written. Sadler, the English Ambassador, tells us that the Roman Catholic Bishops in Scotland could not decipher the Greek motto on his men's livery, and he makes merry over the fact that they read MONO ANAKTI DOULEUO, "I serve the king only," as if it had been MONACHULUS, "a little monk." And if this be so it ill becomes any Popish champion to charge an accomplished Grecian scholar with the crime of ignorance. But Wishart possessed other literary accomplishments than the mastery of Greek. He had translated the Helvetic Confession from the Latin into the mother tongue, and he had obtained that large knowledge of men and things which is inseparable from foreign travel, and familiar intercourse with the cultivated and thoughtful. He had wandered for a considerable time on the Continent, and he had held fellowship with the men of light and leading in Switzerland ; he had sojourned at Cambridge, one of the most splendid seats of learning in England, and he had acted as a College Regent there ; and consequently nothing but gross ignorance or malicious jealousy could describe him as "a man of no letters." Some modern writers, more or less hostile to Protestantism, and especially those

who are bent on cultivating an æsthetic ritualism of a showy, pretentious, and worldly character, have endeavoured to prove that the Reformation was forwarded mainly by the illiterate classes in the community, by vulgar tradesman, bovine husbandmen, and coarse hungry peasants. But such a position cannot be maintained in the face of the plainest facts. Strong-headed, highly-cultivated, and capable noblemen like Lord Glencairn, the Earl of Argyll, Erskine of Dun, and Douglas of Longniddry, were prominent Reformers; and many of the ablest and most popular ministers of the Reformed Church were formerly priests, and *ordained priests*, occupying influential and commanding positions in the Church of Rome. The name of George Wishart alone, however, would suffice to show that the Reformation was neither the work of poor untutored men, nor incompatible with genuine learning, great ability, and fine taste. Prior to the Reformation there was no scholar among the priestly companies in the Scottish Universities who had such a mastery of the language in which the cardinal doctrines of Christianity are embedded as Wishart the Martyr. It was Greek learning that revived an interest in the Gospel. Diligent students of the Greek Testament reopened the old wells that had been choked for

centuries with the rubbish of Papal traditions and superstitions, and drew forth the clear living water. A comparison of the doctrines of the unadulterated Word of God with the dogmas of the Roman Church startled scholars, and convinced them that the Pope's ministers were neither true successors of the Apostles, nor fair exponents of the fundamental doctrines that they preached. Hence the revolt of *scholars* from the corrupt Church in which they had been suckled.

Then George Wishart was an earnest and popular *Evangelist.* He was the first layman in Scotland who imitated the apostolic preachers in the freedom with which they prosecuted evangelistic work. After his painful but profitable religious experiences in the City of Bristol, and after deepening and extending his theological knowledge on the Continent, under the guidance of the leaders of the Reformation, he had a firm grasp of the doctrines of grace and the principles of a living piety, and as soon as he returned home he lost no opportunity of proclaiming widely the blessed truths that had enlightened and gladdened his own soul. As Socrates abandoned the painted porch and the academic haunts of Athens, and revelled in exploding popular fallacies and superstitions, and promulgating true philosophical principles among the

common people on the streets ; as St. Paul deserted the sacred Temple of Jerusalem and proclaimed the novel and radical doctrines of Christianity not only in Jewish synagogues but in the thoroughfares of Pagan cities, and such places as the private house of Lydia, the school of Tyrannus, and the upper chamber at Troas, so Wishart preached the living gospel, in all its simplicity and spirituality, in every place where he could obtain a hearing. Attaching no peculiar sacredness to formally consecrated edifices, repudiating all ritualistic notions of local sanctity, and believing that the Shechinah dwelt in the midst of all penitent and prayerful souls, he delivered the message of eternal life as readily in the streets of Dundee, in private houses in Montrose, and in the fields and moors and market places of Ayrshire, as in the old established churches that were flung open to him by sympathetic friends. To him as to every genuine Protestant the vast stretch of barren moor, the bustling and crowded thoroughfare of the town, the humble turf-hut of the labouring man, or the stately castle of the noble, was as much the audience-chamber of God as the hoariest cathedral or the gloomiest parish church, with its groined roof and long-drawn aisles. Consequently he confined his ministry to no local sanctuary or circumscribed

parish, but went out into the world, free and untrammelled, and sowed the good seed of the Word beside all waters. As a peripatetic evangelist, he was the pioneer of the Reformation, and the harbinger of a deep religious revival. Labouring in a wide uncultivated field, he was an influential if irregular minister. A strong, fresh living voice in the midst of the moral wilderness, he brightened and gladdened it with the sound of the gospel of grace and peace. He touched all classes, and awakened them from their spiritual slumber. He roused them to a sense of their sin and misery, and pointed them to the Peace-giver and the Star of Hope. He spoke not of penance but of contrition of heart, not of works of salvation but of faith in Jesus Christ. He showed spiritually awakened men that the knowledge of Christ was the sum of saving knowledge; that Christ, and Christ alone, was the object of faith, and the sure and solid ground of a sinner's hope of everlasting life; and that the ministers of the gospel were neither sacrificial priests nor confessors, but messengers of God, whose function it was to direct the wounded and wandering soul to the Blessed One who giveth health and solacement and perfect rest. Like St. Paul, like Luther, and the preachers who have emancipated the world, and hewn down

mountains of superstition and error, Wishart proclaimed the doctrine of a full and free forgiveness through faith in the crucified Christ. All men were lost, lost to God, lost to all that was pure and good and beautiful and blessed-making; and Christ was the alone Saviour who could restore them to the dignity and position of sons of God, and priests of God, who could set them in the heavenly places, and put a new song into their mouth and a crown of eternal glory on their head. That teaching was novel, but it fell upon dry hearts as the gentle dew upon the parched grass of the desert. Weary men were refreshed and made glad. Gathering in little companies around some prominent religious man, they formed the first Protestant congregations in Scotland, which, by their own inherent vigour, gradually overshadowed and destroyed the old Popish institutions.

Once and again prelatical writers have found fault with Wishart for daring to preach the Gospel and dispense the Sacraments, when he had not obtained ordination and consecration at the hands of the Popish Bishops. In the Church, as in every other society, discipline and order are most important and necessary, because conducive to the concentration of energy and the more efficient discharge of duty. There is union and strength in

discipline and order, and discipline and order spring out of submission and obedience to a higher will. As for the grace flowing through the Apostolical succession, and communicated mechanically by the imposition of the Bishops' hands, we deem it nothing more than a chimera of the imagination of mystical and mediæval ecclesiastics, and regard it as unnecessary for the proper discharge of clerical duties as a stream of blue blood in the veins, or a touch of melancholy in the drooping eye. The grace that makes a man a real Christian minister is communicated not by any company of spiritual or priestly men, but by the immediate inspiration and indwelling of the Holy Spirit. Although George Wishart had been ordained a priest by all the dignitaries of Rome arrayed in their most gorgeous robes, and assembled beneath the mighty dome of St. Peter's, he could not have obtained a richer gift of genuine grace than he possessed. The most gracious man, and the royalest priest, is the one who is most thoroughly and completely endued and imbued with the Spirit of Holiness. The individual who is best equipped for fulfilling God's benign purposes, and conferring blessings on his fellow men, is not the

religiose professional brother, or the high and mighty prelate who regards himself as a repository of grace, but the simple humble believer in Christ who has drunk most deeply of the Saviour's spirit, lived most in His presence, and become, by moral conflict and varied spiritual experience, strong and pure and wise. But even though Episcopal ordination and consecration were really helpful to a Christian minister, how unreasonable and unwise to insult the memory of the great Scottish Evangelist because, forsooth, he ventured to proclaim the eternal truth of God which maketh wise unto salvation without taking pains to obtain the *imprimatur* of the Romish Church, and the benediction of her consecrated priests! Can reasonable men expect reformers, who have risen up in holy wrath with the object of hewing down superstition and error and vice, to accept ordination at the hands of their enemies? And is it not ridiculous to suppose that the priests of Rome would condescend, in their humility and charity, to ordain and consecrate a preacher who had not only defied their authority but had sapped and mined the foundations on which it rested? The times were out of joint. Lawlessness reigned. The Church was worm-eaten. Most of the clergy were dissolute, blind, and impenitent. The bishops sus-

pected earnest priests of heresy and disloyalty, and persecuted the men who toiled to advance the Reformation. How then could a man like Wishart work in the regular ranks, or hope to obtain any of the ecclesiastical decorations of Rome? In revolutionary times, born of tyranny and oppression, the wisest and the most loyal-hearted men are forced to maintain a position and to commit deeds that are indefensible in a reign of peace. Necessity has no law; and when law stands in the way of righteousness and truth the sooner it is ignored or abolished the better. The flag of Freedom always streams like a thunder storm *against* the wind. When good and earnest men fight, they contend against the established order of things; and that always means revolution. But in a time of revolution, men do not move in old ruts like a gin-horse; and they dispense with ritualistic observances and ceremonial orders when they fight desperately against tremendous odds, for the triumph of truth and liberty. Doubtless soldiers generally fight better in their military attire; but some, like the stripling David, can fight the giant most successfully in rough hodden grey, and with a sling and a stone.

And Wishart was a noble *Martyr*. A man of faith, he was brave as a lion, and gentle as a lamb.

The greatest of the world's heroes is Death, and he conquered him, because he believed in the Eternal, and had obtained glimpses into the Everlasting Empire of Spirit. God's bosom was his home, and he feared not death because he knew that it would only bring him nearer to the goal of life. Ignorant or malicious persecutors and intolerant partisans, are the most irritating of tormentors, yet Wishart patiently endured the cross, despising the shame, because he possessed the spirit and the immortal hopes of Him who trod the rough road to Calvary! Our country is rich in heroes, and their dust is dear. How many have laid down their lives for great ideas and great enterprises! But it is impossible to mention one who has lived a more pure, beautiful, and disinterested life, or died in a noble cause more nobly than George Wishart. From the truth he believed, he never swerved amid manifold temptations. In him conscience, enlightened by the Word of God, was king, and the promise of deliverance from death failed to tempt him to disloyalty. He loved truth more than he feared death. He preferred the red crown of martyrdom to any dignity purchased at the price of dishonour. And when he stood upon the scaffold, how nobly did he bear himself! He kissed the hangman, whose heart had been melted by his burning

words; he forgave his murderers, he encouraged his fainting followers, and then he confronted death with the calm courage and serene countenance of Stephen, the soldier-deacon and proto-martyr of the Christian Church.

The *consequences* of the martyrdom of George Wishart were fruitful, and on the whole beneficent. "After the death of this blessed martyr of God," says Knox, "began the people, in plain speaking, to condemn and detest the cruelty that was used. Yea, men of great birth, estimation, and honour, at open tables avowed that the blood of the said Master George should be revenged, or else they should cost life for life. Among whom John Lesley, brother to the Earl of Rothes was the chief; for he, in all companies, spared not to say that the same whingar (showing forth the dagger) and that same hand should be priests to the Cardinal."* Nor was the angry and vindictive mood of the people soothed and conciliated by the behaviour of the clergy. Extolling in heated and extravagant language the conduct of the Cardinal: commending him for slighting and defying the authority of the timid and procrastinating Regent, and lauding him as the bold defender of the whole

* *The History of the Reformation*, Vol. I., pp. 171-2.

ecclesiastical order, and the curber of popular insolence, they irritated the minds of the common people and roused the violent passions of "some great and noble persons too." "They fretted," says Buchanan, "that things were come to that pass by their own pusillanimity and cowardice; and now they thought some bold thing or other was to be attempted and hazarded, or else they must remain slaves for ever. Led by this same motive more company came in to them, whose grief forced them to break out into complaints against the Cardinal. So they encouraged one another, to rid the Cardinal out of the way, and either to recover their liberty or lose their lives. For what hope of thriving, said they, can there be under so arrogant a priest, and so cruel a tyrant, who makes war against God as well as man, and those not his enemies only, as were all such as had estates, or were any way pious; but for a small grudge he will drag a man as a hog out of the stye, to be sacrificed to his lusts."* The *bold thing* that the people and nobles were meditating was the killing of the Cardinal. Unfortunately it was actually attempted, and carried out swiftly and successfully. On the morning of the twenty-ninth day of May, 1546,

* *History of Scotland*, Vol. III., p. 42.

William Kirkcaldly, of Grange, John Lesley, and his nephew the Master of Rothes, with some others, suddenly seized and despatched the porter of the Castle of St. Andrews, sprang within the gates, mounted the long winding stair, entered the bed-chamber of Beaton, and stabbed him to the heart! The murder of George Wishart was swiftly and terribly avenged. Maddened by oppression and cruelty the foes of the Cardinal slew him, and resisted every appeal for mercy. While their conduct was wholly indefensible, and to be regarded with profound regret by all true Protestants, it must be confessed that it hastened the downfall of the Roman Church in Scotland, and materially advanced the cause of Reformation. The sins and crimes of Beaton were dark, detestable, and multitudinous: he was the most merciless of tyrants, the most selfish, sensual, ambitious, and unscrupulous of churchmen, and the worst enemy of his country; and the verdict of every impartial student of history must be that the doom of death was his due. But vengeance lieth with God alone; and no Christian man will attempt the defence of a band of nobles who committed a foul deed, even if it could be shown that they were animated by disinterested motives. If, however, their conduct cannot be wisely defended it can easily be extenu-

ated. Not for the purpose of avenging personal wrongs, or of seizing great spoils, did they kill Beaton, but with the object of revenging the murder of a good and earnest reformer, and of ridding the land of a priest who ruthlessly and lawlessly trampled down men possessed of deep religious convictions, and who strenuously opposed every political measure that tended to further the best interests of the Scottish people. The times were lawless; and Beaton was all-powerful. The harassed people could obtain redress for their grievances in no legitimate way. Might was right. The weak were insulted or roughly trodden down by the iron heel of arrogance. The Regent, who ought to have protected the people against the sword of ecclesiastical despotism, and to have rectified their wrongs, was a craven coward, and the Cardinal's crouching slave. What could the wronged and infuriated people do in these circumstances? They could not openly revolt; for the Church was strong, and the State was engaged to defend the Church. They could not bridle the Cardinal or thrust him into prison; for they were badly organised, and destitute of a leader of commanding power and genius. They might indeed have manifested "the patience of the saints," but it is difficult for the grace of patience to bloom

amid protracted storms of lawlessness and hate. What wonder that men in these circumstances should attempt to do by stealth what they could not compass by fair dealing or open warfare!

With Beaton's death the Papacy in Scotland received its death-blow. The Cardinal was its greatest ornament, its most resolute defender and champion, and when he passed away the pillars of the Roman Church began to totter and fall. No masterly spirit survived to lead the forlorn hope. Weakened and discouraged by the sudden loss of their leader, the Romish party slackened their fiery crusade. Not a few of the clergy joined the rising band of influential Protestants, and during the exile of Knox fanned the fires of evangelical life in Scotland. At last Knox was emancipated, and when he appeared he marshalled and educated the hosts of Protestantism with the skill of a soldier and the wisdom of a great statesman; and he continued the battle against Rome until he conquered, and raised on the ruins of Romanism a glorious Protestant Church, evangelical in spirit, apostolical in doctrine and practice, and purely Scriptural in worship and discipline.

VII.

WALTER MYLN, VICAR OF LUNAN.

"Stand like an anvil,"
said Ignatius to the dying Polycarp.

" 'Stand like an anvil' when the sparks
Fly far and wide, a fiery shower;
Virtue and truth must still be marks,
Where malice proves its want of power.
'Stand like an anvil' when the bar
Lies, red and glowing, on its breast;
Duty shall be life's leading star,
And conscious innocence its rest.
'Stand like an anvil,' noise and heat
Are born of earth, and die with time;
The soul, like God, its source and seat,
Is solemn, still, serene, sublime."

—*Bishop Doane.*

Parentage and Birthplace.

OF the Parentage and Birthplace of the last martyr of the Scottish Reformation, nothing of a definite character is known. In the age prior to the Reformation of 1560, biographical literature was extremely meagre, and the means of diffusing knowledge of every sort were comparatively limited. There were no argus-eyed reporters and stenographers in Scotland in the mediæval times, on

teeming printing press* to chronicle the minute events that transpired in obscure and remote districts of the country. Consequently it is now exceedingly difficult to get down to the roots of pre-Reformation history, and to obtain solid and reliable information concerning the early life, social circumstances, and geographical surroundings of the Reformers and Martyrs. Patrick Hamilton and George Wishart were our foremost witnesses for the Protestant Faith, and although they were scions of ancient and honourable families holding a good social position, it is difficult to ascertain with anything like perfect precision either the date or place of their birth. We know that Hamilton belonged to the House of Kincavil, and that Wishart was intimately connected with the family of Pitarrow in the Mearns, and while modern historians have accomplished not a little in the way of making us better acquainted with the early life and career of these noble men, they have failed to discover any documents that settle the precise date and the particular place of their birth. Walter Myln of Lunan was a much less con-

* The first printing press in Scotland was established in Aberdeen by the great and good Bishop William Elphinstone. On 15th September, 1507, the King granted to Chepman and Millar the privilege of printing Elphinstone's *Legends of the Scottish Saints*.

spicuous man than these; indeed, it was only "persecution that dragged him into fame;" and, as might be expected, his parentage and early life are involved in deep obscurity. If, however, Myln's parentage, birthplace, and birthday cannot be definitely ascertained, it is possible, with our present knowledge, to throw considerable light upon the subject, and to hazard a guess that may approximate truth.

Among the most reliable sources of pre-Reformation History are the Registers of the great Religious Houses; and the ancient books of Arbroath Abbey are the most perfect of their kind. From the Black Book of Arbroath we learn much that is interesting about the old families of Angus, much about those who have fallen, and those who have risen, and we learn that the name of Myln, in particular, was not an uncommon one in the district where our Martyr lived, and laboured, and fought a good fight for twenty years. The old and extremely small parish of Ethie, or Athy, was separated in the days prior to the Reformation from Lunan by the beautiful parish of Inverkeilor; and these three seaboard parishes were therefore contiguous, lying compactly together, midway between the old aristocratic town of Montrose and the more famous

monastic town of Arbroath, in Angus or Forfarshire. Little Ethie, with its bold and commanding cliff scenery and its thickets of stunted wood blighted and blasted by the wild storms of the German Ocean, is now merged in the parish of Inverkeilor; but when it was independent, and the predecessors of James Ged * were the parochial vicars, haughty prelates of the diocese of Saint Andrews, and the princely Abbots of Arbroath occupied the great House of Ethie, and an old family of the name of Myln farmed some of the best land in the parish, and followed sundry occupations. The Black Book of Arbroath contains several entries in which the Mylns are distinctly mentioned and described as the tenants of the monks of the Abbey, and living almost under the shadow of Ethie House. The Mylns appear to have lived in pretty comfortable circumstances, combining trade with husbandry. In the year 1510 George Hepburn, a scion of the great House of Bothwell, and the chivalrous Abbot who fell with the Scottish King on the disastrous Field of Flodden, assigned to *John Myll*, cartwright, and to *Robert*

* James Ged was Vicar of Athy in 1534, and succeeded Murdoch Lecky (Leky), who died, Vicar of Inverkeilor in 1536.

Myll, his son, the mill near the *Bruntone of Athy*, commonly called *Raysis Myl*, with all its belongings.* From another entry in the same ancient book, dated 1512, we discover that *John Myll*, the cartwright, and his wife, Elizabeth, residing at Bruntone, obtained a new lease of *Raysis Myl;* and in a charter conveying the lands of Bruntone of Athy to Mariotte Ogilvy, David Beaton's favourite mistress, it is stated that John Myll and his spouse were tenants of the Mains of Ethie ("Manis de Athe") in 1528. Four years later numerous changes had taken place in Ethie, but the cartwright and his family were still in favour with the Monks. The register of 1532 furnishes us with the information that John Myll, cartwright, and Marion Lychton,† his wife, occupied the farmhouse of *Estyr Greyn*, and further, that the Abbot, David Beaton, assigned to them, and their son Thomas, for life, the mill of *Raysmill*, with its lands and multure, and other privileges.‡

* *Reg. Nigrum de Aberbrothoc*, p. 402.

† Her father, George Lychton, and her mother, Alison Boys, were in the Mains of Athy in 1512. *Reg. Nigrum*, p. 420. His grandfather and grandmother, Walter Lychton and Agnes his spouse, occupied the Mains of Athy as early as 1485.

‡ [In 1532.] Abbas assedat pro vita Johanni Myll, carpentario, Marjorie Lychton, sue spouse, et Thome Myll, eorum filio . . . Molendinum de Raysmyll vocatum cum suis terris et multuris vna-

Nor are the Records of the district destitute of inscriptions, leading to the conclusion that the family of Myln sent several sons into the Church, both before and after the period of the Reformation. In 1494 *Alexander Myl* studied at the University of Saint Andrews; and it was doubtless the same man who acted as Notary of the Abbey of Arbroath, and styled himself a Bachelor of Arts in 1496.* In 1560 *Andrew Myll* represented Mon-

cum illis duabus partibus ville de Estyr Greyn vocate quas Johannes occupat. Soluendo pro molendino quinquaginta tres solidos et quatuor denarios monete Scocie ad terminos usuales et duodecim capones.—*Reg. Nig. de Aberbrothoc*, p. 509.

* Alexander Myln was a man of high character, of splendid ability, and extraordinary attainments. He was a moderate and liberal Churchman, and, though he never seceded from Rome, he was fully conscious of the defects and errors of the Papacy, and wrought for the promotion of religious reform.

The place of his birth is unknown, but from his early connection with the Abbey of Arbroath it is probable he belonged to the district of Angus. In 1494, he was a Determinant at St. Andrews; in 1495-6, he was Notary of the Abbey of Arbroath; in 1505, he was Scribe and Notary of the Cathedral of Dunkeld, and Rector of Lundeif; afterwards, he was successively Canon of Aberdeen and Dean of Angus; in 1515, he was Prebendary of Monithie in the Cathedral of Dunkeld, and at that time wrote a Latin work, entitled *Lives of the Bishops of Dunkeld;* in 1516, he was made Abbot of Cambuskenneth, and fulfilled the arduous duties of his high office with commendable zeal and remarkable ability; and in 1532 he became the first President of the College of Justice. He died about the close of the year 1548.

See Brunton and Haig's *Historical Account of the Senators of the College of Justice.*

trose at the first General Assembly of the Reformed Church; and in 1569 he was minister of Feteresso, and kept a classical school at Montrose. He was a celebrated teacher, and moulded the mind of James Melvill, who filled the Chair of Theology in Saint Andrews with great honour for many years. His distinguished pupil has described him as a kind, honest, learned man, and a diligent and skilful schoolmaster. Andrew Myll was unquestionably a man of extraordinary power, and commanding influence; for he was a member of ten of the twenty-four Assemblies convened between 1581 and 1600, and one of the ten ministers selected by the brethren in 1589 for defending the Scottish Church when the State threatened to deprive her of her liberties. The Parish of Garvock in the Mearns is not far from Feteresso, and the Reader there in 1569 was *Robert Myln.* At the Reformation, *David Myln* held the same office in Saint Murdoch's Chapel, in Ethie. During the years that succeeded the Reformation struggle, numerous ministers of the name of Myln filled the parish pulpits within the bounds of Angus and Mearns, and it is not improbable, but indeed almost certain, that many of them were descended from the family that held for generations Raysmill and Bruntone in Ethie,—places whose names are still familiar in

the neighbourhood of Arbroath, and a family that has still representatives in the old haunts, if not in the old homes.

Thus we see that the Mylns were old tenants of the Abbots of Arbroath, being at once farmers, millers,* and cartwrights. And what more probable than that a member of the family at Ethie, inflamed with a passion for learning and ecclesiastical pursuits, fostered by close proximity to the Abbey of Arbroath, and by familiar intercourse and fellowship with the monks and priests, should proceed to Saint Andrews, across the Frith, and study for the Church, and at length be settled in the neighbouring Parish of Lunan? Tradition tells that Walter Myln was "one of the monks of the Abbey of Arbroath," and this story strengthens the conviction that he was

* As early as the thirteenth century wheat was grown in this part of Scotland, and "wheaten bread used on holidays." But corn was cultivated everywhere, and mills driven by water and by wind were used for grinding corn for *cakes* or *bannocks*.

"Adjoining the Grange [the principal house of the Abbey Barony] was a mill, with all its pertinents and appearance and reality of comfort, and a hamlet occupied by cottars, sometimes from thirty to forty families in number. The situation of these was far above the class now known by that name. Under the monks of Kelso each cottar occupied from one to nine acres of land, along with his cottage. Their rents varied from one to six shillings yearly, with services not exceeding nine days' labour.—Cosmo Innes' *Early Scotch History*, pp. 138, 139.

a native of the district. Indeed, it seems most probable that he was a brother of John Myll, farmer, miller, and cartwright, who resided in Ethie Parish; and in all likelihood he was born at Bruntone, in the year 1476, as he perished at Saint Andrews in 1558, when he had reached the advanced age of eighty-two.

Walter Myln doubtless received his *early education* at the conventual school of Arbroath. In the Middle Ages in Scotland two classes of schools were maintained by the great Religious Houses—the burghal and conventual—in which all the learning of the time was cultivated. The House at Kelso, for instance, had superior Burghal schools in Roxburgh, and the magnificent House of Dunfermline had richly endowed schools in Perth. In the burghal schools a purely rudimentary education was obtained, such as may now be got at a public school in any village in Scotland; whereas, in the conventual schools pupils of good birth and superior rank, or students looking forward to the priesthood, were drilled in the principles of Music, of Grammar, and of the Latin tongue, and instructed in all knowledges that fitted them for the proper discharge of duties in the higher walks of life. Many of these conventual schools formed the foundations of our present grammar schools.

Concerning the conventual school at Arbroath we know little, but from its close connection with a great Religious House and with the University of St. Andrews, it must have been a superior school. One of the earliest of the conventual schoolmasters in Arbroath was Mr. Archibald Lamy, and his salary was as large as that of many of the parish priests in the diocese, namely, ten marks, and his daily portion at the common table of the brethren. At the conventual school of Arbroath, Walter Myln would acquire sufficient knowledge to enable him to enter the College of St. Salvator across the Tay. Tradition, indeed, says that he studied at King's College, Aberdeen, where two distinguished Angus men, who had played together as schoolboys at Dundee, were occupying professorial chairs. But it is not probable that the Arbroath novice sat at the feet of Principal Boece or Professor William Hay. The University of Aberdeen was not founded by Bishop Elphinstone till 1496, and its oldest records bear the date of 1601. If Myln studied somewhat late in life, he may have enjoyed the prelections of the liberal teachers in the Northern seat of learning, but there are strong grounds for believing that the College of St. Andrews was his *alma mater.* The matriculation roll of St. Salvator's College does not shed a very steady

light on the subject; for while it contains an entry,—*Wa. Mallyne*,—dated 1512, there is some doubt whether this name has not more kinship with *Melvin* than with *Myln.** Still, Walter Myln was connected with St. Andrews both geographically and ecclesiastically. In his time the Abbey boat went statedly across the Frith of Tay to the Oxford of Scotland. And what more natural than that a humble student should attend the nearest college, especially when it was unrivalled in splendour and in reputation? Would not the churchmen of Arbroath, too, be ready to persuade any aspirant to the priesthood to enter the home of

* No trace of Myln's name is to be found in any other College register in Scotland. While we cannot obtain sufficient evidence to prove that the name—*Wa. Mallyne*—on the old register of St. Andrews is identical with that of Walter Myln, we are strongly of opinion that it is the Martyr's. We have been unable to discover any other professional man, in the period, bearing the name; and as a matter of fact, the country people of Angus still pronounce the local name of Myln in such a way that an amanuensis, judging only from the sound, might write, with the registrar of St. Andrews, *Mallyne* instead of Myln. It must be remembered that it was the registrar who inscribed the names of students on the college register, and he spelt just as the entrants pronounced them. Mr. Maitland Anderson, the Librarian of St. Andrews University, informs us that "the spelling of names in the old University lists is very irregular;" and he adds that "this may arise from the fact that they are not usually signatures but inscriptions by an official. Very likely he took down the names from dictation, and spelt them as he thought fit."

learning, which was the glory of their diocese? In pre-Reformation times St. Andrews and Arbroath were as intimately related as mother and daughter. The Abbot of Arbroath was only inferior to the Bishop of St. Andrews, and occasionally the Metropolitan held the Abbacy. All the influences about the student tended to lead him to the Fife University. Moreover, the fact that Myln was presented to the parish of Lunan by the Abbot of Arbroath is significant. For then, as now, it was customary for ecclesiastical patrons to present to vacant parishes men reared and educated within their own dioceses and colleges.

It is difficult to state, with any degree of precision, the various subjects studied in the Arts curriculum at the University of St. Andrews in 1512; but it is well known that during pre-Reformation times generally a complete course in Arts extended over seven years. During their first year students were drilled in the Latin Grammar, and were instructed in Terence and Ovid. In their second year students were expected to master the famous and universal Logic text-book of the times—the Summulæ; and when they proceeded to the study of Aristotle they and their teachers alike were dependent on the Latin commentaries of Duns Scotus and Alexander

Hales. Greek was an unknown tongue in St. Andrews till the celebrated Andrew Melville appeared and lent lustre to the University by the splendour of his classical and literary acquirements. After Logic was mastered students proceeded to study Music and Geometry. Perspective and Astronomy crowned the course. As printed books were unknown, and manuscript volumes scarce and dear, the students of the time were almost entirely dependent upon professorial lectures, and consequently possessed but a limited and superficial knowledge of the subjects pursued Thus equipped, and perhaps with some slight knowledge of Patristic Theology, Walter Myln left the University of St. Andrews and found a home for a few years in the Abbey of Arbroath.

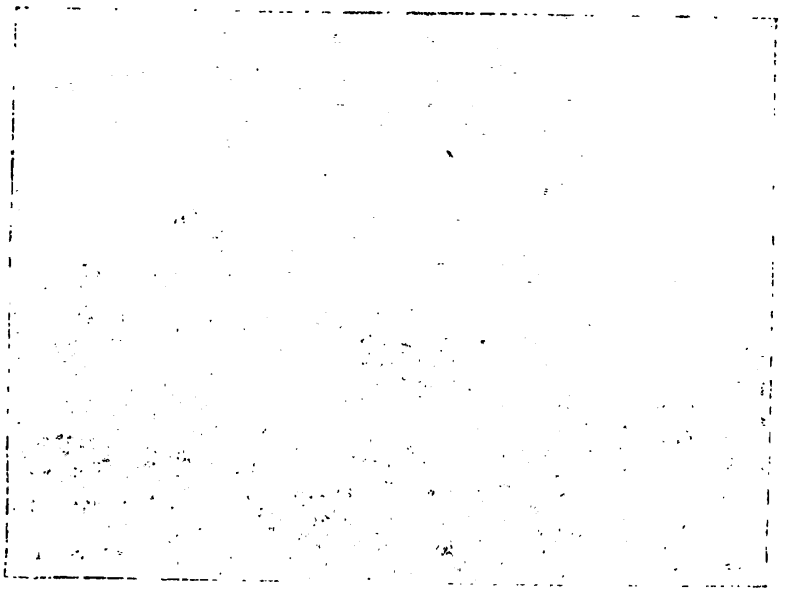
The Old Parish of Lunan.

Lunan, Lônan, or Lownane, is a Gaelic word, signifying the River of the Marshes or Lakes, and the Scottish parish which bears this name obtains it from the clear-winding stream which skirts its southern side, and separates it from Inverkeilor. Nor is the stream inaptly named the *Lunan:* for, rising in a marsh in the neighbourhood of Forfar, it flows through the two small

sedgy lochs of Rescobbie and Balgavies, and after pursuing a serpentine course for thirteen miles, and irrigating a quiet beautiful valley, falls into the grey German Ocean, south-east of the parish church of Lunan, and almost at the base of the famous old tower of Redcastle. Lunan is a seaboard parish, lying between Arbroath and Montrose, and it is one of the smallest and most tranquil in Forfarshire, if not in Scotland. Oblong in form, about two miles in length and one in breadth, it is purely rural, though it can hardly be said to be far away from the tumults of society and the busy haunts of men. On the east it is bounded by the wild and stormy German Ocean, or more accurately, by that portion of it known as Lunan Bay; on the west by the parish of Kinnell; on the north by the lands of Maryton and Craig; and on the south by Lunan Water. The Bay of Lunan is one of the finest and most spacious on the east coast, and while almost unknown to the hungry tourist, it is a silent sanctuary and a delightful resting-place for weary and worried men. Shaped like a horse-shoe, and forming a segment of about five miles, the bay is deep and well-sheltered, and indeed a calm inland haven where the stateliest ships may safely ride at anchor in the wildest storms. The head of the bay is low, sandy,

destitute of stones or pebbles, with a background of rough and rampant bent, and fantastic hillocks of sand; but its sides consist of steep, inaccessible, and ragged rocks, and occasionally these rise into rude picturesque columns of one hundred and fifty feet in height. Here for centuries the lonely sea-birds have built their nests, and found a safe stronghold in the gloomy day and tempestuous night; and though the steam engine now disturbs their repose, and shrieks louder than their wildest cry, they manifest no tokens of fear, no signs of preparation for departure. A considerable part of this magnificent bay lies within Lunan parish; and the small, unpretentious church, surrounded by a clump of shady trees and the graves of many generations of rude ploughmen and humble tradesmen, stands near the stream as it plunges into the sea. The situation of the church is very beautiful, and it must always have been so; for the stream, and the sea, and the cliffs, are everlasting ornaments, unchanged by the vicissitudes of fortune and the march of time, lending life, and strength, and an air of picturesque grandeur to the lovely scene. And then the old square tower of Redcastle * must have sentinelled

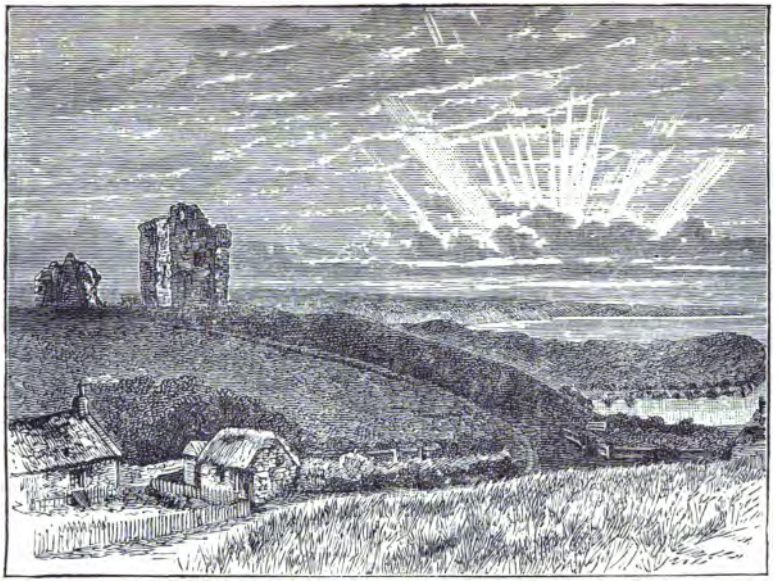
* Redcastle, finely situated on a rising knoll on the shore of Lunan Bay, was a seat of the De Berkeleys who conferred the



[illegible] CASTLE, OF [illegible] BAY

distant of six miles or more, with a bay of rocky reefs and fragment beach, and fantastic hillocks of sand; but the sides consist of steep, inaccessible and jagged rocks, and occasionally these rise into rude picturesque columns of one hundred and fifty feet in height. Here for centuries the lonely sea Birds have built their nests, and found a resting-place in the gloomy day and tempestuous night; and though the steam engine now disturbs their repose, and shrieks louder than their wildest cry, they manifest no tokens of fear, nor any of preparation for departure. A considerable part of this magnificent bay lies within Lamb parish, and the small unpretentious church surrounded by a clump of shady trees and the graves of many generations of rude pioneers men and humble tradesmen, stands near the stream as it plunges into the sea. The situation of the church is very beautiful, and it must always have been so; for the stream, and the sea, and the cliffs, are everlasting ornaments, unchanged by the vicissitudes of fortune and the march of time, bounding in life and strength, and an air of picturesque beauty to the lovely scene. And then the square tower of Redcastle* must have struck

* Redcastle, lonely situated on a rising knoll on the shore of Lamb Bay, was a seat of the De Berkeleys who continued for



REDCASTLE, ON LUNAN BAY.

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the church for ages, and filled the hearts of the vicar and his parishioners with a sense of security in the lawless times when piratical rovers swept the coast, and plundered many an unprotected and solitary homestead. From the church the ground gradually rises northwards till it reaches the height of 400 feet above sea level; and at this point stands the farm house of Dysart, occupied in Walter Myln's time by John Melvill, brother of Richard Melvill of Baldovy, and uncle of the justly celebrated Andrew Melvill, scholar, reformer, and statesman. Prior to the Reformation the parish of Lunan was broken up into small farms or crofts tilled by a poor, patient and illiterate peasantry, and it doubtless possessed a few simple tradesmen who made and mended rude agricultural implements, rough hodden grey garments, and stout shoes. The houses of the peasantry were built without lime, roofed with turf, floored with bent or rashes, while a cow's hide was the substitute for a door. "The com-

lands of Inverkeilor upon the Abbey of Arbroath, and it ultimately fell, in the thirteenth century, into the hands of the Balliols of Barnard Castle, in Yorkshire. Near Barnard Castle John Wycliffe was born and reared: under the shadow of Redcastle Walter Myln, a spiritual son of the great English Reformer, lived for twenty years!

monality had abundance of fish and flesh, but ate bread as a dainty." Not one of them was able to read or write.

At the close of the fifteenth century the annual rental of the Church Lands of Lunan* was 14 bolls of wheat; 102 bolls of beer; and 132 bolls of meal.

The Vicars of Lunan.

Immediately before the Reformation in Scotland, Andrew Whitehead, Patrick Blair, David Christi-

* The lands of Inverlunan have a curious history. In 1189 King William the Lion bestowed upon the monks, serving God and Saint Thomas A'Becket at *Aberbrothoc*, the territory of Ethie, and the patronage and tithes of numerous churches and lands in Angus and Mearns, and among others those of *Inverlunan*. Of the occupants or lessees of the lands of Inverlunan, and of the vicars of the parish we hear nothing more till the year 1496. But from the Black Book of Arbroath we learn that the lands of Inverlunan were then let by the Abbot, Sir David Lichtone, to Robert Guthrie for nineteen years; that in 1512 they were assigned by Abbot Hepburn to James Guthrie for nineteen years; and that in 1526 they were assigned by Abbot David Beaton to John Guthrie and his son, Hercules, for nineteen years. In 1544 the lands of Inverlunan were given in feu by the Commendator and Chapter of the Abbey of Arbroath to John, Lord Innermeath, and Elizabeth Beaton, his spouse, upon payment of a small annual feu-duty. By the Annexation Act in 1587, the lands reverted to the Crown. Then they, with other Monastic lands, were erected into a temporal lordship in favour of James, Marquis of Hamilton. From Hamilton they passed into the possession of the Earls of Panmure; and in the

son, and Walter Myln were the Vicars of Lunan Parish, and they were all presented by the Abbots of Arbroath. From the *Black Book* of Arbroath we learn that on the 23rd day of September, 1485, Abbot David Lichtone assigned to *Master Andrew Quhytheide, Vicar of Lownane*, certain ecclesiastical privileges and the tithes of the lands of Inverlunan;* and that *Master David Cristeson* (presented to the parish of Monifieth on the resignation of *John Yallower*, on the 28th day of May, 1525, and to the parish of Abirkirdour, in the

year of the great rebellion they were forfeited to the Crown. Afterwards they were purchased by the York Buildings Company; then they were sold to a late Earl of Panmure; and finally they were disponed in 1767 to William T. Imry, Esq., whose lineal descendant holds them at this hour.

* "Nos David [Lychtone] abbas . . . de aberbrothoe . . . assedamus . . . Waltero Ramsay de Limbanny et domino Andree Quhytheide *vicario de Lownane* herdeibusque suis et assignatis dummodo assignati de consensu nostro admittantur . . . decimas garbales ecclesie nostre de Lownane decimis de *Innerlownane* exceptis pro terminis decem et septem amorum . . . termino introitus . . . incipiente in festo Sancti Petri adiuncula datam presencium immediate sequente. Soluendo . . . decem bollas mundi et puri frumenti tres celdras et octo bollas boni et sicci ordii et quatuor celdras et duas bollas farrine mensure fori currentis ad terminos victualia soluendi consuetos. Et si dicti . . . in solucione . . deficerint . . ad terminos . . licebit nobis . . de . . ecclesia et decimis ad . . bibitum . . disponere. . . . Apud . . capitulum xxiii°. die mensis Septembris anno domini 1485." *Registrum de Aberbrothoc, Nigrum*, p. 227.

diocese of Moray, on the 1st December, 1525), was presented by the Abbot, David Beaton, to the perpetual vicarage of the parish church of *Lownan*, in the diocese of St. Andrews, vacant by the death of Master Patrick Blayr, on the 29th June, 1526.* Then, it seems probable that Walter Myln, "born of parents who were in reputable circumstances, and one of the monks of the Abbey of Aberbrothoc," succeeded Christison some time in 1526; but although we have searched the Registers of the Abbey, we have failed to discover any notice of Myln's presentation to Lunan, or that of any of his successors. The truth is, these old ecclesiastical records are largely occupied with secular affairs, and chiefly with leases and the transference of lands. The monks of Arbroath appear to have made more strenuous endeavours to perpetuate the names of the lessees of their lands, and to fix the conditions of tenure, than to immortalize any of the priests who served God, administered the Holy Sacraments, and laboured to bless their fellowmen. The only apology which can be fairly offered for their neglect is that the

* "Idem presentat dominum Dauid Cristeson *presbiterum ad vicariam perpetuam ecclesie parochialis* de Lownan Sanctiandree dyocesis vacantem per obitum magistri Patricii Blayr, 29 Junii, 1526." *Reg. Nigrum*, p. 455.

majority of the priests of that time were quite unworthy of notice. Some of them, indeed, were good earnest men, loving God and their brethren, anxious to regenerate the world and to purify the Church, spending nights in agonizing prayer for the dawning of brighter and better days, and crying with the warrior saints of old—"How long, Lord, wilt thou hide thyself? How long shall the wicked triumph? How long shall the land mourn and herbs wither?" But most of them were steeped in ignorance and superstition, and spent poor, shallow, and ignoble lives, now chanting a mass for the dead, now drinking with rough and fleshly companions in an alehouse, occasionally reading the Church's Service for the sick and dying, preaching a rambling sermon, or pronouncing some extravagant and not very highly-wrought panegyric on departed saints whose names occupied a distinguished place in the Roman Calendar.

In the spiritual and moral condition of the rural parish the Abbots seem to have taken no interest. They regarded the parish as entirely subservient to the interests of the Monastery; and so long as the Vicar played well the part of steward, and gathered in the tithes, they concerned themselves very little as to the manner in which he dis-

charged his sacred duties among the poor ignorant cottars entrusted to his care.

Walter Myln was appointed to the cure of Lunan in 1526, and performed the duties of parish vicar for twenty years. At his induction he must have been forty-eight years of age, as he perished in the flames at St. Andrews in 1558, when he had reached the advanced age of eighty-two. The Rev. Robert Barclay of Lunan, who wrote the New Statistical Account of the parish, published in 1843, blundered when he stated that his celebrated predecessor ministered within the bounds for *forty years;* and the author of the inscription on the small white marble tablet inserted in the wall of the parish church, fell into a similar error when he wrote:—

> "Sacred to the Memory of Walter Mill,
> For upwards of forty years pastor of this Church,
> And the last Scottish Martyr
> For adherence to the Protestant cause."

We do not know on what authority these writers founded their statements, but a slight acquaintance with the ecclesiastical history of their country would have prevented them from doubling the years of the Martyr's ministry in Lunan. Old Lindsay of Pitscottie, in his quaint picturesque Chronicle, states that Myln declared in the presence

of his persecutors at St. Andrews, that he "had served the cure of Lunan twenty years with the approbation of all the parishioners"; and this historical statement of a contemporary can be substantially corroborated. The *Black Book* of Arbroath contains an entry in which Sir David Christison is represented as enjoying the privileges and discharging the duties of the Vicar of Lunan, on the twentieth day of May, 1526; and consequently Myln could not have acted as Vicar of Lunan before that time. Then, as Beaton, who had suspected Myln of teaching heretical doctrines, and had driven him into exile, was murdered in his own castle by men maddened by intolerable oppression and red-handed tyranny in 1546, Myln could not have resided in the parish after that date. But the period between Christison's occupancy of the cure of Lunan, and Myln's flight before the Cardinal, is roundly twenty years.

It is pretty certain, then, that Walter Myln settled in the parish of Lunan sometime in the year 1526, but unfortunately we possess no reliable and authentic record of his clerical life prior to this period. Before his presentation to the rural parish by the Abbot, he was employed as a monk in the Religious House of Arbroath, and he may have ministered in that noble

edifice where assembled the famous Parliament whose members stoutly defied the Pope, and told him that if he lent his influence to England in his attempt to subjugate Scotland he would be held "guilty in the sight of the Almighty of the loss of lives, perdition of souls, and all the other miserable consequences which might ensue from the continuance of war between the two nations."* Like many a farmer's son in the present day, Myln must have studied for the Church at a mature age; and although he found no parochial work or permanent charge till he was on the verge of forty-nine, his career as a *probationer*, if we may so speak of a man who was a monk in a monastery, cannot have extended over many years.

The period of Myln's settlement at Lunan was a most eventful and stirring one. Indeed, 1525-6 marks the day-dawn of the Scottish Reformation, and the birth of enlightened political opinion, and liberal religious sentiment. Then John Tyndale's famous Translation of the Bible was being clandestinely conveyed from Antwerp and Hamburg into Montrose and Dundee and the towns on the east coast of Scotland by the skippers of trading

* Kerr's *Bruce*, Vol. II., p. 238.

vessels. Then the popular evangelical books and tracts of Luther and his companions were being smuggled into St. Andrews, the stronghold of the Papacy, and exciting profound interest and lively discussion among the liberal students of St. Leonard's College, and the more intelligent and cultivated of the citizens. Then the Principal of King's College, Aberdeen, was denouncing the indolence and the profligacy of the churchmen, and calling loudly and indignantly for religious reform, while the prelates were vainly endeavouring to stamp out Lutheran heresies, and suppress the circulation of Tyndale's translation of the Bible and Evangelical books by Parliamentary Acts. Then, too, Patrick Hamilton was preaching the doctrines of grace, and commencing that brief, chequered, but most noble career which terminated with the crown of martyrdom. And about this very period distinguished gentlemen in the vicinity of Lunan such as John Erskine of Dun, the Straitouns of Lauriston, the Wisharts of Pitarrow, and the Melvilles of Baldovy and Dysart, were espousing the cause of Reformation. With these enlightened and evangelical neighbours Walter Myln held intimate fellowship, and what wonder if he fell under their spell and shared their light and consolations and joys! For, if Walter Myln was not

an accomplished Greek scholar like his neighbour George Wishart, the schoolmaster of Montrose, and of gentle birth and blood like the Melvilles who resided on the frontiers of his parish, he was as intelligent and thoughtful as any of them, and eager to drink in the pure Word of God. However, it was the terrible fate of young Hamilton that shocked the Vicar of Lunan, and completely altered his religious career. Burned in a slow fire in front of the old pedagogy of St. Andrews, in 1528, for denying the existence of Purgatory, discrediting the virtue of pilgrimages to the shrines of the saints, and such like doctrines, Hamilton was a martyr for the Truth, and "serious people within the realm," says Knox, "began to enquire and question whether it was necessary to accept such articles under point of damnation. And so within short space many began to call in doubt that which before they held for a certain verity." Gavin Logye, Principal of St. Leonard's College, St. Andrews, was one of these inquirers, and so was his old friend and fellow-student Walter Myln, Vicar of Lunan. Studying Tyndale's Bible in the solitude of his seaboard parish the earnest priest gradually followed in the steps of Patrick Hamilton. Drinking from the undefiled well of Protestantism he discovered that many of the doctrines and

practices of his Church were corrupt and poisonous, and felt that the Church stood in need of a thorough cleansing. True to his deepest convictions, he forthwith denounced the indolence, profligacy, and worldliness of the Bishops, exposed their ignorance and errors, and rated them soundly for neglecting preaching, and the spiritual oversight of their flocks. Pilgrimages to the shrines of saints were decried. Compulsory celibacy was condemned as an unscriptural ordinance. The celebration of the idolatrous mass was abandoned, and sacramental views akin to those now commonly called Calvinistic were inculcated. The bread and the wine of the Lord's Supper were not miraculously transformed into the very body and blood of Christ; the sacrifice of the Cross offered up by the only High Priest of men could not be repeated, as it crowned and consummated all sacrifice; Christ Jesus was physically present in Heaven and could only be apprehended in the Sacrament by faith; and worthy communicants had a right to receive the Sacrament in both kinds. Such doctrines held and taught by Myln were more evangelical than those propagated by Luther himself. Living and labouring in an obscure and thinly-peopled rural district, and possessing few opportunities of speaking in high places, the humble priest pursued the

even tenour of his way, and remained unmolested for many years. Like Chaucer's parish priest, he was rich of holy thought, and

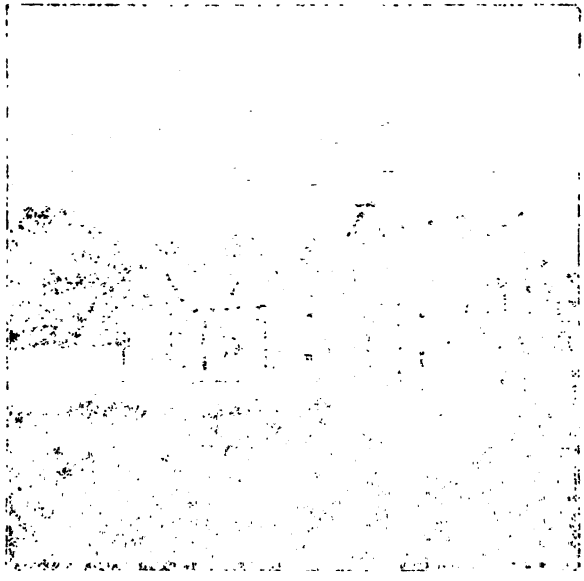
> "A clerk
> That Christës gospel trewely would preche,
> His parishens devoutly would he teche;
> Benigñe he was, and wonder diligent,
> And in adversity full patient.
> . . . . . .
> He dwelt at home, and kepte well his fold,
> So that the wolf ne made it not miscarie;
> He was a shepherd and no mercenarie;
> And though he holy were and virtuous,
> He was to sinful men not dispitous,
> Ne of his speché dangerous ne digne,
> But in his teching discrete and benigne,
> To drawen folk to heaven with fairenesse,
> By good example was his businesse."

The Book of Life alone will tell what souls he cured, and what broken hearts he healed. But it is unquestionable that he held high the torch of evangelical truth in Lunan and pointed out with unmistakeable clearness the plain man's pathway to heaven. If he was "a priest none of the most learned," he was at least gifted with strong common sense, quiet bubbling humour, extraordinary moral courage, and conquering faith, as the last act in the drama of his life showed; and such a minister must have left a deep spiritual impression upon his parishioners. But at last the reformed pastor had

to abandon his quiet home, and to leave his few sheep in the wilderness to the care of the Good Shepherd.

In 1546, Cardinal Beaton had completed a grand march through Angus and Mearns with the object of hunting down heretics, and he rested for some time in Ethie House, now a dilapidated mansion standing among old trees, near the tall inaccessible cliffs breasting the German Ocean, familiarly known as the Red Head, and not far from the Mussel-crag of the Antiquary. Few Scotsmen have earned for themselves such an infamous immortality as David Beaton. Destitute of a spark of patriotic fire and enthusiasm, selfish, luxurious, ambitious, and despotic, ready to serve the worst of masters for the advancement of personal interests, his terrible name still haunts like a sheeted ghost the woods and dens and the gaunt chambers of Ethie. Though a Scotsman, he has always been regarded by the people of Angus as a hireling and a profligate priest. He constantly played into the hands of France, and would willingly have sold the liberties of the Scottish people to promote the interests of the Papal Church. He did not scruple to forge a royal Will, or to enter into a dark conspiracy to slaughter many of the greatest nobles in the land, in order to in-

crease his power, to exalt his fame, and to further his ambitious designs. Honest, conscientious, and pious men he burned because they ventured to depart from the teaching of the Church that glorified him, and to oppose the policy he pursued to his own worldly advantage. If there is one thing Scotsmen value and love above all else, it is liberty and truth; and the Cardinal has forfeited the respect of his countrymen, because he proved a merciless oppressor, and played the part of a cool, calculating, audacious Sadducee, in the splendid garb of a sanctimonious Pharisee. The Romish Church has described Beaton as "an apostolical minister," but he bore a more striking resemblance to the haughty and malignant Caiaphas than to the penitent Peter, or the pure and loving John. He was indeed an accomplished scholar, a refined and polished courtier, an astute and wily statesman, and a prelate fond of pomp and splendour; but he possessed none of the moral qualities that distinguish a messenger of grace. If he was a staunch supporter of the Church of Rome, he was destitute of Christian principle and common morality. Though he could not tolerate a Protestant he did not scruple to break his solemn vow of chastity and celibacy, and flaunt his unlawful amours in the face of the world.



ETHIC HOUSE.

[illegible], to exalt its fame, and [illegible] Honest, conscientious [illegible] he burned [illegible] they were [illegible] [illegible] of the Church of England to oppose the policy he pursued [illegible] by advantage. If there is one thing [illegible] we should love above all else, it is [illegible] and the Cardinal has forfeited the [illegible] of his countrymen, because he proved [illegible] oppressor, and played the part of [illegible], audacious Sadducee, in the splendid [illegible] of a sanctimonious Pharisee. The Romish Church has described Beaton as "an apostolical minister," but he bore a more striking resemblance to the haughty and malignant Caiaphas than to the penitent Peter, or the pure and loving John. He was indeed an accomplished scholar, a refined and polished courtier, an astute and wily statesman, and a prelate fond of pomp and splendour; but he possessed none of the moral qualities that distinguish a messenger of grace. If he was a staunch supporter of the Church of Rome, he was destitute of Christian principle and common morality. Though he could not tolerate a Protestant he did not scruple to break his solemn vow of chastity and celibacy and flaunt his unlawful amours in the face of the world.

ETHIE HOUSE.

If he would not suffer a poor priest who denied the dogma of Transubstantiation to breathe, he could live with harlots, and show his "lordly liberality in banqueting, playing at cards and dyce, and spare not to play with King or knight ten thousand crowns of gold upon a night." Beaton was doubtless an orthodox prelate, bnt he was a licentious man. Practising the vices of a prodigal, he did not scruple to act as a censorious Pharisee.*

No sooner had Beaton learned that the Vicar of Lunan was deviating from Roman Catholic thought and practice than he watched him closely, pounced upon him like an eagle on a dove, and condemned him to the flames, as a dangerous heretic, along with his friend and neighbour John Petrie, of Inverkeilor, chaplain to Lord Innermeath.†

* See Note A at the end of the book.

† It does not appear that Petrie was *a Vicar of Inverkeilor*. The noble family of the De Berkeleys granted the Church of *Inverkelidor* to the Monastery of Arbroath; and the Church of *Inverkeler* is called, in a Charter of King William the Lion, the "Church of St. Macconoc of *Inverkeler*." It is probable that this church was dedicated to Saint Canech or Kenny, the contemporary of Columba, who visited him at Hy or Iona, the first great missionary institution in Scotland. The first perpetual Vicar of *Ennirkelor* of whom we know anything was James Bridy, and he seems to have commenced his ministry about 1464. Gilbert Straiton was Vicar of the parish in 1508. James Scrymgeour succeeded him, and was translated in 1524 to Kymarnyn in the diocese of Aberdeen, where he died on 13th September 1533. In the year 1524 James Boswell was Vicar

Fortunately, Walter Myln escaped out of his hands, and hid himself in the south of Scotland. As he found opportunity, he preached in the wilds of Galloway, and for some time he seems to have found a sanctuary among the descendants of the Lollards of Kyle. But when the fires of persecution blazed higher and fiercer, and inquisitors scoured the dark recesses of the land, he was obliged to seek a sanctuary on the German Ocean.

> "How happy they
> Who from the toil and tumult of their lives,
> Steal to look down where nought but ocean strives."

Tradition says that he acted as the skipper of a trading vessel for a time, but it is more probable that he was befriended and protected by some Dundee or Montrose captain who happened to be a native of his old parish, or to have some intimate relations with it. Abandoning the sea, he travelled into Almain or Germany,* and found

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of *Inverkeillor*; John Stevenson resigned the charge in 1527, and was succeeded by David Haliburton, who retired in 1529.

Alexander Stewart, Presbyter of Kyncoldrum, in the diocese of Brechin, was presented to the Parish of *Innerkelour*, in the diocese of St. Andrews, in 1529; Murdoch Leky, Vicar, died in *Inverkeilor* in 1536; and James Ged, the last Vicar of Athy, was Parish Priest of *Innerkeldour* in the same year.

* The Rev. John Skinner, in his *Ecclesiastical History of Scotland*, (Vol. II, 72), states that Walter Myln in his *younger years*

friends and sympathizers among the Lutherans, and embraced the more distinctly Protestant doctrines. Various writers have hazarded the statement that he sat at the feet of some of the more conspicuous of the Swiss Reformers, but of this we have no authentic record. However, there were many persons of great interest in Switzerland about the time Myln travelled on the Continent. The mighty Calvin was there in 1554, ruling a city of God, expounding the Scriptures with marvellous insight and skill, and moulding the minds of distinguished Scotsmen who were destined to play a leading part in connection with the establishment of the Reformed Church in their native land. John Knox was there enjoying the friendship and profiting by the teaching of the spiritual Dictator, drinking in the spirit of freedom with the bracing air that streamed down from the sky-cleaving mountains, preparing himself for fighting the good fight of faith, and disseminating

had travelled into Germany; but the statement does not seem to be based on good authority. In all likelihood Skinner has misread and misinterpreted the vague passage in Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*, (Vol. V. p. 644): "Walter Mille, who in his youth had been a papist, after he had been in Almain, and had heard the doctrines of the Gospel, returned again into Scotland; and setting aside all papistry and compelled chastity, married a wife, which thing made him unto the Bishops of Scotland, to be suspected of heresy."

the pure doctrines of grace at home. And if the priest of Lunan travelled as far as Geneva, it is certain he found in Calvin and Knox wise counsellors, and congenial, helpful friends.

Returning to Scotland in 1556, Myln discovered that the work of reformation had made rapid and substantial progress, and that large numbers of the nobles and gentry had identified themselves with it, sheltering the evangelical preachers, and circulating the Bible among the people. But the Queen-Regent, Mary of Lorraine, stimulated and guided by her wily and ambitious brothers in France, occasionally showed signs of papistical bigotry and intolerance, notwithstanding all her courtly blandishments and fair speeches; and consequently the aged priest, weary of a wandering life, was compelled to visit secretly his old haunts, and to preach the living gospel in quiet sequestered homes, sometimes in the dead hour of night. In 1556 he was already married, and the father of some children; but whether he entered the honourable estate of matrimony in Germany or in his native land, it is impossible to tell. Possibly he married after 1546, when he left Lunan and retired to the south-west part of Scotland, as he had several children in 1558. That he broke the Romish vow of celibacy is quite certain, and that his wife and children survived his

martyrdom is unquestionable. From the Collector-General's accounts of the *Thirds of Benefices in 1573* it appears that Walter Myln's widow was in receipt of a yearly pension. The following entry settles the matter:—"To the relict of umquhile Walter Myln, according to the allowance of the old comptis, £6. 13. 4d."

After the Reformation was effected, the enormous wealth and extensive property of the Romish Church were valued by commissioners appointed by the Privy Council, and divided into three parts. One third of the spoils went to the crown "for entertaining and setting forward of the common affairs of the country," another third was assigned to the Ministers of the Evangel and their successors, and the "excrescence and surplus" remained in the hands of the old and original possessors. The Laird of Pitarrow paid the stipends of the ministers for many years, the sums varying from one hundred to thee hundred marks annually; but Wishart was evidently a close-fisted and parsimonious cashier, as Knox in his own humorous and scathing way thus taunted him: "Who would have thought that when Joseph ruled Egypt, his brethren should have travailed for victuals, and have returned with empty sacks unto their families?" It was then from the *Thirds of Benefices* that Myln's widow derived a

yearly allowance, but it is impossible to say who she was, where she resided, or when she died.

At the beginning of 1558, Walter Myln, deceived by the temporary clemency of the Queen-Regent, and the prelates, ventured dangerously near the stronghold of the Papacy in Fife. To all appearance the churchmen were cultivating a tolerant and conciliatory spirit. The reformers among the Scottish nobles were steadily gaining influence, the iron hand of persecution was concealed beneath a soft bewitching glove, and the fugitive priest naturally concluded that

> "Storm and peril were overpast,
> And hounding hatred shamed and still."

During his temporary residence in Scotland in 1556, Knox had so quickened and stimulated the Protestants that they had ventured to form themselves into congregations; to appoint godly and intelligent men to read the Scriptures and to conduct devotional exercises; and to elect elders for the maintenance of discipline, and deacons for the collection of money for the poor. At an Assembly of reforming nobles and barons, held at Edinburgh, in December 1557, two liberal resolutions were adopted, and with some modifications, carried into effect. First, it was agreed that *King Edward the Sixth's Prayer*

Book, containing lessons from the Old and New Testament, should be read in every parish on Sundays and Festivals, by the curates or other persons within the bounds best qualified for the sacred work; and secondly that the Reformers should teach and preach only in private houses till the Parliament granted them liberty to minister in public. If the Church at large did not use the English Prayer Book, it is certain the Protestant congregations did so for several years; and if the Government did not permit the Reformers to teach in private, it is unquestionable that the barons and gentry sheltered the Evangelical preachers, and employed them as domestic chaplains. Among others the Earl of Argyle protected John Douglas, a reformed friar, who seems to have denounced the vices of the time with terrible energy. Hamilton, Archbishop of St. Andrews, and the prelates about him, saw that the cause of Reformation was rapidly and surely advancing; but as they were worldly-wise men they suppressed their rage and refused to strike the heretics for a time, hopeful that by means of persuasive lauguage and fair blandishments they might win back men of commanding ability and high character. The lull in the storm of persecution deceived Walter Myln. He thought the storm had changed into a calm, and imagined

he had but to enter the quiet haven. He was greviously mistaken. Failing after many earnest endeavours to withdraw the sympathy and support of the nobles and barons from the reformed preachers the infuriated and disappointed prelates threw off the mask of conciliation and manifested a readiness to wreak their vengeance upon the poor and the weak. If, in their cowardice, they dared not strike powerful friends of the Reformation like the Earl of Argyle, Lord Glencairn, and Erskine of Dun, who had harboured "pestilent heretics," and listened with interest to their sermons directed "against all manner of abuses and corruption of Christ's sincere religion," they were determined to burn the recreant priests within their power. At this crisis, when the crafty Queen-Regent and the treacherous and wily Primate were waiting for an opportunity of kindling their terrifying bonfires, Myln appeared at Dysart, in Fife, prosecuting the work of a humble but faithful minister of Christ. The Papal spies silently watched his movements till they were ready to spring upon him and thrust him into their net. Sir George Strachan, Vicar of Dysart (who afterwards became a salt-manufacturer, and died in 1587), and Sir Hugh Turry or Curry, "an ignorant minister and imp of Satan

and the Bishops," * who had shortly before harassed Adam Wallace, the martyr, in his prison, threatening that "he would gar deils come forth of him ere evening"—these were the men who revived the legal process originated by the Cardinal twelve years before, and apprehended the aged priest. Discovered "in a poor wife's house teaching her the commandments of God, and learning her how she should instruct her bairns and her household, and bring them up in the fear of God," Myln was transported to St. Andrews, and flung into the dungeon of the Castle. Many a good and brave martyr has lain in irons in that old fortress of Rome, and if it had a living voice it could tell many a tragic tale of suffering and woe, of heroic moral struggles, and victories over fierce temptations; but among all the men of faith who found in it a Patmos none were nobler than the last and the most venerable of the martyrs. He witnessed a good confession, and while he never winced under barbarous treatment, he preserved his genial and jocular disposition to the last. Sufferers in the grandest of causes have sometimes indulged in rash and vindictive language, and shown an awful

* Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*, Vol. V., p. 644.

countenance, hissing out defiance; but in the midst of sore tribulation Walter Myln manifested the spirit of the gentle and strong Jesus. While lying in a loathsome den, like a criminal of the darkest dye, he was persistently attacked by the priests and besought to recant his religious opinions, but he refused to burn his faggot and abjure the Faith. They threatened him with bodily torments, but he stood firm as a rock. They offered him a monk's portion in the great Abbey of Dunfermline, if he would return to the bosom of the Church; but he remained steadfast and immoveable, despising their threatenings and scorning their fair promises. George Buchanan describes the martyr as "a priest none of the most learned, of weakly constitution of body, and extremely poor;" but if Myln was neither a great classical scholar nor the companion of princes and nobles, like the Historian, he was a Christian of dauntless courage, of unswerving fidelity to the truth, of deep religious convictions, and withal a sound theologian; and if he had to contend with infirmities inseparable from old age and poverty, he possessed a robust intellect, a generous spirit, and the riches that are unsearchable. His trial proved him a man of extraordinary moral strength and grandeur.

Trial and Martyrdom.

On the twentieth day of April, 1558, Walter Myln was arraigned in the Abbey Church of St. Andrews, where the Ecclesiastieal dignitaries had assembled. The Primate of St. Andrews, the Bishops of Moray, Brechin, Caithness, and Athens;* the Abbots of Lindores, Dunfermline, Balmerino, and Cupar; Greson and Winran, Doctors of Theology; Cranston, Provost of the Old College, and Friars black and grey, and others of like sort were present on the occasion. Weak and frail the venerable confessor could not climb into the lofty pulpit without aid; and those who looked on thought he would not be able to make himself heard in the great church. To the astonishment of all, and to the consternation of his foes, the grand old man spoke boldly, and "made the church ring and sound again."

The public preacher was Friar Maltman, whose "sermon was far from the meaning of Scripture and Spirit of God, which, when Walter Myln heard, he fell on his face, and cried out, *Alas! This Friar is not ashamed to lie.*" †

* Alexander Gordon, who bore the fancy title of *Archbishop of Athens*, became Bishop of Galloway in 1558. The classical title was conferred on Gordon by the Pope when he was defeated in his candidature for the See of Glasgow in 1547.

† *Pitscottie's History*, p. 200. (Edit. 1728.)

The prosecutor was Master Andrew Oliphant. He had won some notoriety as an unscrupulous and officious servant of the Papal Church, and he was well acquainted with all the arts of bullying heretics. Beginning clerical life as Vicar of Foulis and Innertig, he was subsequently employed by Beaton and Hamilton as their confidential agent at Rome, and once and again he had played the part of accuser at the trials of the reformed brethren. When Oliphant began the prosecution Myln was kneeling in the pulpit, engaged in silent prayer. Without ceremony and with not a little rudeness he commanded him to arise, saying: "Sir* Walter, arise, and answer to the articles; for you hold my lord here over-long." Whereupon Walter, after he had concluded his prayer, answered: "We ought to obey God more than men. I serve one more mighty, even the Omnipotent Lord. And whereas ye call me Sir Walter, call me Walter, and not *Sir* Walter: I have been over-long one of the Pope's knights. Now say what thou hast to say."†

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* *Sir* was a title applied to those students who had taken their Bachelor's Degree; *Master* to all who had taken their Degree of Master of Arts. Wishart, for example, is commonly called *Maister George* by Knox.

† *Acts and Monuments*, Vol. V., p. 645. (Cattley's Edit. 1838.)

Questioned by Oliphant:

I. Concerning the *Marriage of Priests*, he answered that he held marriage a blessed bond; that Christ himself maintained it, and made it free to all men. Then he charged the priests with breaking their solemn vow of chastity, with violating "other men's wives and daughters," and boldly affirmed that "God never forbade marriage to any man, of what state or degree soever he were."

II. Concerning the *Sacraments*, Myln maintained there were but two and not seven, as the Church of Rome taught. Baptism and the Lord's Supper alone were sacraments instituted and appointed by Christ: there was no Scriptural warrant for regarding matrimony, orders, penance, confirmation, and extreme unction as sacraments. Though sacred acts, and capable of being viewed as symbolical of spiritual truths, they were not seals of the covenant of grace, and they did not directly represent Christ and the benefits flowing from the work of Redemption.

Pithily and pertinenently the confessor said to his accusers: "If there be seven why have you omitted one of them, to wit, marriage, and give yourselves to slanderous and ungodly whoredom?"

III. Charged with affirming that *the Mass was idolatry*, he answered: "A lord or a king sendeth

and calleth many to a dinner; and when the dinner is in readiness he causeth to ring the bell and the men come to the hall and sit down to be partakers of the dinner, but the lord, turning his back unto them, eateth all himself, and mocketh them; so do ye." Here he referred to the sinful and shameful custom of the Roman Catholic Clergy in withholding the Cup from the laity, and suffering them to partake of the Bread only.

4. Charged with denying *the Sacrament of the altar to be the very body of Christ really in flesh and blood*, he shrewdly replied that the Scripture was not to be interpreted literally but spiritually, and that as Christ had been "once offered on the Cross for man's trespass" He thereby ended all sacrifice. Having drunk at Wycliffe's well he was satisfied that "the substance of material bread and wine do remain the same after consecration that they were before;" and that "the body and blood of Christ are not essentially, nor substantially, nor even bodily, but figuratively or tropically; so that Christ is not there truly or verily in his own proper bodily person."

5. Accused of *denying the office of a Bishop*, he straightly charged the bishops with neglect of pastoral duty, with the love of sensual pleasure, of honour and dignity.

6. Charged with speaking *against Pilgrimages* to the shrines of the saints, he affirmed that pilgrimage was not enjoined in Scripture, and that the shrines were places of temptation. "There is no greater whoredom in any plaee than at your pilgrimages,* except it be in common brothels."

7. Accused of preaching *privately in houses, and openly in the fields*, he answered somewhat sarcastically: "Yea, man, and on the sea also, sailing in a ship." We can almost see the wit sparkling in the eye of the venerable man tottering on the verge of Eternity.

Such is Foxe's account of the trial of Walter Myln, and it was sent to him at Basil by eye-witnesses. Robert Lindsay† supplies us with some additional and interesting facts.

"Heretick," said Oliphant, "why didst thou pass about through sundry houses seducing the people to heresy; and teaching them charms and enchantments, to hold them from God's service?"

"Verily, brother," said Myln, "I held no man from the kirk, but contraryways, exhorted all men

* Dundee, Melrose, Paisley, and Scone, were the principal places of pilgrimage in Scotland. Thither malefactors, and all guilty of misdemeanours, proceeded to do penance at the various shrines and altars.

† *History*, pp. 220, 201.

to the service of God; and that they might understand the work of their salvation, I taught them the Lord's Prayer, the Belief, and the Ten Commandments."

"But, seeing thou art a priest, why hast thou forsaken the Mass. Thou hadst the Cure of the parish of Lunan, in Angus, beside Redcastle, from which thou fledst, and one with thee, Sir John Petry, servant to Lord Innermeath;* and you and he were condemned by my late Lord Cardinal of heresy, and ordained to be burnt wherever ye might be apprehended, so that we need no further accusation against you at this time."

"Brother," said the accused, "indeed I served the Cure at Lunan twenty years, with the approbation, to this day, of all the parishioners, who never heard me teach erroneous doctrine, especially my Lord Innermeath himself. But when the furious Cardinal persecuted me, and many more, for the preaching of God's Word, I was constrained to keep myself quiet, and go about asking for God's sake, reproving vices, and instructing people

* The Barony of Redcastle was acquired by Sir Robert Stewart, of Innermeath, from Sir Andrew Campbell in 1366-7, and the Stewarts occupied Redcastle till the close of the 16th century. John Stewart, Lord Innermeath, was one of the Senators of the College of Justice. He was married in 1530 to Elizabeth Beaton, daughter of Sir John Beaton or Bethune, of Creich in Fifeshire.

in the grounds of religion; for the which I am now taken and brought to this place."

The Bishop said; "Wilt thou burn thy faggot, and thy life shall be safe?"

"That," said he, "I will not do, to confess myself to be a heretick. I am a poor indigent man, not caring for this world, but assured that my reward is in Heaven. I am also of great age, and have not cause to fear death. Do with me as you think best. But it were better for you to give something for the relief of my wife and poor children."

Stoutly refusing to recant, Walter Myln was condemned to the stake. With the spirit of the heroes he said, after sentence was pronounced: "Quod facis fac citius" (What thou doest do quickly). "Ye shall know that I will not recant the truth, for I am corn; I am no chaff; I will not be blown away with the wind, nor burst with the flail, but I will abide both."

Whereupon Oliphant delivered him to the temporal judge to be burned. But the temporal judge was at heart a reformer, and the manly bearing and defence of the aged priest had greatly moved him. Let it be told for a memorial that Patrick Learmont, Laird of Dairsie, and Provost of St. Andrews, refused to execute the sentence of the

savage prelates, and scorned the cruel behests of Archbishop Hamilton.* "I will do anything

* John Hamilton, Archbishop of St. Andrews, was an illegitimate son of the first Earl of Arran. After pursuing his studies at Glasgow and Paris he was appointed in 1525 to the Abbacy of Paisley, and sat in the Parliaments of 1535 and 1540. His close connexion with the Governor of the Kingdom secured his rapid promotion to the highest offices in the Church and State. After occupying the positions of Lord Privy Seal, High Treasurer, Senator of the College of Justice and Bishop of Dunkeld, he was nominated by the Governor to the Archbishopric of St. Andrews, on the death of Cardinal Beaton. So long as he held the Abbacy of Paisley he bore a good reputation, and was called, "chaster than any maiden;" but when he became Primate he sullied his fair fame by various mesalliances, particularly with Lady Grizell Sempill, by whom he had several children, two of whom—John and William Hamilton—were legitimated in 1551. "I have seen copies of charters," says Martine in his *Reliquiæ Divi Andreæ*, "to William, John, and James Hamilton, his three natural sones born of this Grizzel Sempill; and they are designed her natural sones, but they came all to be forfeited." (See Laing's Notes in Knox's *History of the Reformation*, Vol. I., pp. 124-5.)

Buchanan had formed a favourable opinion of Hamilton, and states in his *History* (Vol. III., p. 86) that "he rather coveted the money than the blood of his enemies, and was seldom cruel, but when it was to maintain his plunder and his pleasures." We are disposed, however, to pronounce a more severe judgment on the Ecclesiastic, whose first public act after his elevation to the Primacy was to burn a simple zealous harmless man like Adam Wallace of Fail, in Ayrshire, and whose last conspicuous act was the martyrdom of Walter Myln of Lunan. Notwithstanding his cruelty and immorality, Hamilton seems to have been a zealous Churchman; for he published in 1552 a theological Catechism in the mother tongue, containing a brief Exposition of the ten Commandments, the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Magnificat. Commonly called *The Twopenny Faith*, it was on the whole a creditable performance, as it was an exceptional one in pre-Reformation times.

that pertains to my office, according to justice," said the Provost; "but for the innocent servants of God, and preachers of His Word, I will not meddle with them." Then said the Primate: "Provost, you are Bailie of my Regality, and ought to judge all such as transgress within my bounds." "Yes," answered the Provost, "and if your lordship please I will take him and give him a fair assize of temporal men, who perhaps will absolve him!" Nor was the Provost the only person who manifested a hearty detestation of the unjust and inhuman conduct of the prelates. The Archbishop's chamberlain, "being therewith charged, would in no wise take upon him so ungodly an office as that of ecclesiastical judge;" and so highly indignant were the people of the town that they refused to help the executioners to accomplish their execrable and barbarous task. The merchants closed their booths, and refused to sell the "bloody butchers" a cord to bind the martyr to the stake, or a tar-barrel to burn him. At last the executioners were compelled "to cut the cords of their master's own pavillion, to serve their turn;" and "a servant of the Bishop's, more ignorant and cruel than the rest, called *Alexander Somervaile*,* enterprising the

* Alexander Somerville was of Tarbrax, near Carnwath in Lan-

office of temporal judge in that part, conveyed him to the fire, where, against all natural reason of man, his boldness and hardiness did more and more increase, so that the Spirit of God, working miraculously in him, made it manifest to the people that

arkshire. He was a dissolute profligate, and an unworthy member of the old family of Somerville who occupied the ancient castle of Cowthally, situated on the verge of the moor lying to the north of the village of Carnwath. Robert Lindsay knew the character of the man, who won for himself an infamous immortality by pronouncing the sentence of death on the last martyr of the Scottish Reformation. For thus he writes: "The Bishop being frustrate in this manner sought up and down a long time for one to be judge, till at length he took one of his own court, named Alexander Somervel, a man void of all honesty, religion, or fear of God, who sat in judgment and condemned him to death. But the merchants, for the love of this poor servant of God, had hid all Tows and all other things which might serve for his execution. He was burnt on the north side of the Abbey Kirk."—*Pitscottie's History*, p. 201.

"In the year 1558, the Lord Somervill was much afflicted with the bad report that he heard of his cousine Alexander Somervill of Trabrax, who haveing dilapidated most of his fortune, wodselt the roume of Trabrax to one Thomas French. The Laird of Cambusnethan being superior, as he held the same of the Earle of Douglasse, that roume being a part of the barronie of Dunsyre, Camnethan, for a time withstood that right; but by the mediatione of James, Lord Somervill, all differences were composed at Cowthally, the twentieth and third of September, 1556; about which tyme this gentleman, Alexander Somervill, by the Lord Somerville's interest with the Bishope of Saint Andrewes, obtaines that service, believing it might be a mean to preserve the remainder of his brocken fortune; but that unhappy act of condemneing Walter Milne as ane heretick to the fyre, he himself being noe temporall judge for the time, but officiouslie intrudeing himself in that office, to ingratiate himself more in his master's favour, lost quyte his owne reputatione in the countrey, the good will of all his friends, particu-

his cause and articles were most just, and he innocently put down."

A band of armed men led the decrepit priest to the stake planted on the high ground north of the Abbey Church, overlooking the sea. Oliphant bade him mount the pyre; but he refused to break the Sixth Commandment. "Nay," said he, "wilt thou put me up with thy hand, and take part of my death? Thou shalt see me pass up gladly: for by the law of God I am forbidden to put hands upon myself." Then Oliphant pushed up the brave and joyous saint. He ascended, saying: "Introibo ad altare Dei"—*I will go to the altar of God;* and when he had taken up his position at the stake he craved liberty to address the assembled people, who were frantic with excitement. Oliphant and other furnace-men refused him permission to speak; but the infuriated young men of the crowd interfered, and while recklessly committing the burners and the bishops to the devil, desired "Walter to speak what he pleased."

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larly his chieffe, the Lord Somervill, who although ther was none more zealous that way, yet he abhorred that rigiditie, and all persecutione upon the account of opinione, especially in him who had no call thereto, nor was concerned as a judge in that process against Walter Milne, who was the last in Scotland that suffered upon that account."—*Memorie of the Somervilles*, Vol. I. pp. 415-417.

First, he knelt down and prayed; then he rose and stood upon the coals and said: "Dear friends! the cause why I suffer this day is not for any crime laid to my charge (albeit I am a miserable sinner before God) but only for the defence of the faith of Jesus Christ, set forth in the Old and New Testament unto us; for which, as the faithful martyrs have offered themselves gladly before, being assured, after the death of their bodies, of eternal felicity, so this day I praise God that he hath called me of his mercy, among the rest of his servants, to seal up his truth with my life: which as I have received it of him, so willingly I offer it to his glory. Therefore, as you would escape the eternal death, be no more seduced with the lies of priests, monks, friars, priors, abbots, bishops, and the rest of the sect of Anti-christ; but depend only upon Jesus Christ and his mercy, that ye may be delivered from condemnation." *

The patience, the boldness, the constancy and hardiness of the venerable martyr moved the multitude so profoundly, that they made great mourning and lamentation, and refused to be comforted. As he was hoisted up to the stake the people's hearts were inflamed with love for the reformed

* *Acts and Monuments*, Vol. V., pp. 646, 647.

religion; and while in the fire, amid the swirling smoke and the crackling flames, he uttered words that proved his constancy, and encouraged those left behind to fight the battle. "Lord have mercy on me; pray people, while there is time;" and so saying he departed to the bosom of God, where rest the shining ones who have "come out of the great tribulation."

So suffered and so died the last martyr of the Scottish Reformation, "a man," says Hill Burton, "past eighty years of age, and a quiet country priest of blameless life." One account of the martyrdom runs that in the fire the venerable preacher said: "I am four-score and two years old, and cannot live long by the course of nature; but a hundred better than I shall rise out of the ashes of my bones. . . I trust in God I shall be the last that shall suffer death in Scotland for this cause."* If Walter Myln thus spoke it is satisfactory to know that his last wish was realised. "His death," says Spottiswoode, "was the very death of Popery in this realm, for thereby the minds of men were so greatly enraged, as resolving thereafter openly to profess the truth, they did bind themselves by promise and subscription to

* *Pitscottie's History*, p. 201.

oaths, if any should be called in question for matters of religion, at any time after, they should take up arms and join in defence of their brethren against the tyrannical persecution of the bishops." And just as the phœnix of ancient fable secured for itself an immortal progeny by dying in the fires, so from the ashes of this venerable martyr sprang a race of Scottish Worthies, whose unconquerable spirit and heroical faith carried the battle for Reformation to the goal of victory. The spectacle of the frail and venerable priest, suffering in the fires with a lion-hearted bravery and a saintly meekness, roused the hearts of a radically just and humane people, and constrained and compelled them to espouse and carry forward a cause for which they had long cherished a secret inclination. Persecution bereft the Roman Catholic Church of old friends, and won adherents for the cause of the Reformation. To this fact Knox refers when he writes: "Which thing did so highly offend the hearts of all the godly, that immediately after his death began a new fervency among the whole people; yea, even in the town of Saint Andrews began the people plainly to condemn such unjust cruelty; and in testification that his death should abide in recent memory, there was cast together a great heap of stones in the place where he was

burnt." The memorial cairn to Walter Myln deeply offended the bishops and the priests, who regarded him as a stubborn heretic; but though they levelled it to the ground once and again, and threatened with cursing all who should venture to restore it, the people persisted in building up the cairn. Only when the priests and papists stole away the stones of the cairn by night, and built them into their walls by day, was the martyr's memorial destroyed. But the Scottish people were determined that the honourable name of Walter Myln and those of his illustrious companions in suffering should not be forgotten by posterity, and so they set themselves to erect a permanent monument. And now, near the ruined Castle of St. Andrews, and on classical ground, stands an elegant obelisk, bearing the inscription:

"In memory of the martyrs Patrick Hamilton, Henry Forrest, George Wishart, Walter Mill, who in support of the Protestant faith suffered by fire at St. Andrews, between the years MDXXVIII. and MDLVIII. The righteous shall be held in everlasting remembrance."

Prior to 1848 a monument to the memory of the martyred priest stood in the graveyard of the parish of Lunan, bearing the inscription:—

"M.S. Reverendi Gualteri Mill, hujus ecclesiæ, olim pastoris eximii, qui veritatis studiosus Jesu Christi a Pontificiis ejusdem insectatoribus jam major octogenario in foro Andrea-politano igni crematus est tertio Kalendas Maii,* MDLVIII. Hoc pos. R. J. G. I. W. 1818."

This Latin inscription may thus be translated:

"Sacred to the memory of the Rev. Walter Mill, formerly a distinguished pastor of this church, who, zealous for the truth as it is in Jesus Christ, was burned by Popish persecutors in the market-place of St. Andrews, on the third of May, 1558, when he was above eighty years of age.

* This old epitaph was composed by one of the ministers of Lunan, the Rev. John Gowans, who, with his wife, Isobel Webster, erected the ancient monument that stood in the churchyard, of which not a vestige now remains. Mr. Gowans has dated the martyrdom of his famous predecessor in May, 1558, but it is unquestionable that the 28th day of April is the real date. Knox is our best authority on the subject, and he writes: "Shortly after these things, that cruel tyrant and unmerciful hypocrite, falsely called bishop of Saint Andrews, apprehended that blessed martyr of Christ Jesus, *Walter Myln;* a man of decrepit age, whom most cruelly and most unjustly he put to death by fire in Saint Andrews, *the twenty-eight day of April*, the year of God Jm. &c. fifty-eight years."—*History of the Reformation in Scotland*, Vol. I. Book II., p. 308 (Laing's Edit.) *Foxe* again fixes the trial of Myln on the 20th day of April, but does not mention the date of the execution; while *Pitscottie*, after stating that Myln was arraigned before the clergy on the *twentieth day of April*, affirms generally that the "bishop condemned him of heresy, and kept him two days, because they could not get a criminal judge to condemn him to death."

This monument is placed here by the Rev. John Gowans, and Isobel Webster, 1818."

When the old monument was removed a small white marble tablet was inserted in the wall of Lunan church, in 1848, bearing the inscription:—

"Sacred to the memory of Walter Mill, for upwards of forty years pastor of this church, and the last Scottish martyr for adherence to the Protestant cause. He entered on his ministrations in the days when Popish error prevailed in Scotland; but by Divine grace was brought to a knowledge of the truth; and having faithfully preached the gospel for many years in the midst of persecution, suffered martyrdom at St. Andrews on the 28th day of April, A.D., 1558, in the 83rd year of his age."

Perhaps the earliest of all the monuments erected to the memory of the Vicar of Lunan was that which stood in Greyfriars Churchyard, Edinburgh, with the famous Latin epitaph, composed by Patrick Adamson, who became Archbishop of St. Andrews:—

"Non nostra impietas, aut actæ crimina vitæ
Armarunt hostes in mea fata truces:
Sola fides Christi sacris signata libellis,
Quæ vitæ causa est, est mihi causa necis." *

* Quoted by Foxe, and preserved by Maitland in his *History of Edinburgh*, p. 202.

"No dark impiety, no faults of public life
Stirred savage foes to plot my violent death.
The faith of Christ alone, revealed in sacred books,
While saving others, robbed me of life's breath."

Such was Walter Myln, Vicar of Lunan, who suffered for his adherence to the doctrines of Evangelical Protestantism more than three centuries ago. He cannot be regarded as a profound scholar, an eloquent and commanding preacher, a great ecclesiastic, or a leader of men. He was simply a good truth-loving man, a humble preacher of the Evangel, a quiet God-fearing priest, who lived to guide his fellow-men to heaven.* But the man is immortal,

* George Buchanan's account of Myln is full of interest, and I append it here :—"In April (1558) Walter Mills, a priest, none of the most learned, was suspected by the bishops, because he left off saying Mass : whereupon he was dragged to their court. Though he was weak by constitution of body and age, extremely poor, and also brought out of a foul prison, and lay under such high discouragements, yet he answered so stoutly and prudently too, that his very enemies could not but acknowledge that such greatness and confidence of spirit, in such an enfeebled carcase, must needs have a support from above. The citizens of St. Andrews were so much offended at the wrong done him, that there was none found who would sit as judge upon him ; and all the tradesmen shut up their shops, that they might sell no materials towards his execution, which was the cause of his reprieve for one day more than was intended.

At last one Alexander Somerville, a friend of the archbishop's, was found out the next day, a great villain, who undertook to act as judge for that day. This is certain the commonalty took his

because he was true to his nobler self, loyal to his conscience, and deepest convictions. He preferred exile, hardship, and penury, to peace and comfort bought at the price of a lie, and death in the fire to a violation of the behests of conscience, and disloyalty to the greatest of all martyrs, the King of Truth. And the true man ever wears the crown of a fair immortality. How many Scotsmen have died upon the field of battle since Walter Myln was burned at the stake! How many haughty prelates, splendid orators, astute lawyers, and princely merchants have passed away during these last three hundred years! But how few of these live in the hearts of good men, rule the destinies of their fellowmen, and inspire them with devotion for the truth, and with love to God! It is moral grandeur, loyalty to God, faith in the unseen and eternal, and self-sacrifice for the cause of religious liberty, that make men immortal; and it is because Walter Myln possessed in an eminent degree these fine

death so heinously that they heaped up a great pile of stones in the place where he was burnt, that so the memory of his death might not end with his life. The priests took order to have it thrown down for some days; but still, as they threw it down one day, it was raised up the next, till at last the papists conveyed the stones away to build houses with about the town."—*History of Scotland*, Vol. III., p. 86.

qualities that he is entitled to a place among our Scottish Worthies, and that his memory is invested with an interest that is imperishable.

> "The glory of one fair and virtuous action
> Is above all the scutcheons on our tomb,
> Or silken banners over us."

We cannot conclude the story of the Martyrs without making a single observation regarding the *spirit of the Roman Church.* Her spirit is intolerant, and her conduct and sympathies uncatholic. A gigantic tyranny, she inculcates principles that sap and mine the foundations of civil and religious liberty, and her practice is the outcome of her persecuting principles. The devotees of the Papacy indeed profess to be the best friends of freedom, but history plainly belies their pretensions, and depicts them as the most relentless and formidable of tyrants. If the Roman Catholic Church has ever championed liberty, as Lammenais, Lacordaire, and Montalembert have asserted, she has done so in the hour of her weakness, and for the purpose of securing a foothold to promote her own selfish interests, and to climb into a position of ecclesiastical and political supremacy. If she has be-

friended freedom she has used her as a slave to mislead independent peoples. Doubtless she favoured Catholic Emancipation in Great Britain and Ireland; but has she not imprisoned and burned many a good and holy Scotsman and Englishman, and planted her heel on the neck of Protestant Independence in Spain? She contended for liberty of worship in Calvinistic Geneva; but has she ever granted religious freedom in the home of the Pontiffs? In Protestant countries she enjoys toleration; but in every land where she is supreme is not her policy suppression?

> "I do despise them;
> For they do prank them in authority,
> Against all noble sufferance."

It is vain for Romanists to boast of their love of liberty, when their Church has stoutly opposed representative government in Scotland, in France, in Italy, and supported every tyranny that promised her aid. Cardinal Beaton was the embodiment of Papal principles; and we know that he not only persecuted with relentless rage George Wishart and the goodly band of Scottish martyrs and reformers, but opposed every political measure in his day that was distinctly patriotic. Afraid that union with our natural ally, Protestant England, would weaken the Papal Church in

Scotland, Beaton constantly leagued himself with Papal France, and furthered all the schemes and plans of the Guises and French statesmen, because they were hostile to the cause of Protestantism. To the Roman Church the principles of civil and religious liberty are detestable. Subjugation—not Toleration—is her motto. Not Conscience, but the Church speaking through the Pope, is the king of man's soul, in the opinion of Roman Catholics. Ultramontanism is, and has always been, a synonym for spiritual despotism.* We do not, of course, yield to the temptation of slighting the virtues of all the members of the Papal Church. We remember that the great and mighty men who inspired Luther and Calvin, and Wishart and Knox, and laid the foundations of Protestant Theology, were members of the Church of Rome. We are deeply indebted to the incomparable scholar, Saint Augustine, to the devout and profoundly spiritual recluse, 'A Kempis, to the great missionary preacher, Saint Bernard of Clairveaux, to the pensive, pure, and deeply religious Pascal; and we are perfectly conscious of the beauty of the lives and the splendour of the sacrifices of

* See *Hamerton's* Essay on Henri Perreyve, Ecclesiastic and Orator. *Modern Frenchmen*, pp. 155, 166.

many other adherents of the Roman Catholic Church. Still most of these were Protestant in spirit and in life, and while in the Roman Church were nobler than the teachers who formulated the creed, and propagated the principles that dominate the Papacy, and make it the most tremendous and terrible of all human organizations for crushing individual opinion and personal conviction, and manacling the hearts and hands of freeborn peoples. However difficult it may be to practise Toleration in all circumstances, it is certainly true that Christianity, as the religion of charity and love, is directly hostile to persecution in every form. And "that is no good religion," as Jeremy Taylor has finely said, "whose principles destroy any duty of religion. He that shall maintain it to be lawful to make a war for the defence of his opinion, be it what it will, his doctrine is against godliness. Any thing that is proud, any thing that is peevish and scornful, any thing that is uncharitable, is against that *form of sound doctrine* which the Apostle speaks of."

APPENDIX.

NOTE A.—CARDINAL BEATON.

DAVID BETHUNE or Beaton, the greatest ecclesiastical statesman of his age, and the most formidable foe of Protestantism in Scotland, was a younger son of John Beaton of Balfour, by Isobel Monypenny, daughter of the Laird of Pitmilly, in Fifeshire, and the nephew of James Beaton, Archbishop of Glasgow, and afterwards Primate of Scotland. Born in 1494, David Beaton entered the University of St. Andrews when he was about fifteen years of age; and in 1511 he proceeded to the University of Glasgow to pursue his studies under the guidance of his uncle, the Archbishop. Following the example of the aspiring and ambitious young men of his time he subsequently went to France and planted himself at the feet of the great Masters of Civil and Canon Law who lent lustre to the University of Paris. To Scotland he returned about the year 1518, when he was presented by the Archbishop of Glasgow to the Rectory of Campsie in Stirlingshire, and designed "Clericus S. Andreæ Diocesis." Living at the clachan of Campsie, situated at the mouth of a romantic glen that penetrates the heart of the Campsie Fells, he displayed singular tact and extraordinary ability in the management of the affairs of a large and important rural parish, ten miles north of

Glasgow. Speedily his statesman-like gifts attracted the attention of men in high position, and, among others, of the Duke of Albany; and in 1519 the Regent appointed him Resident for Scotland at the French Court,—a position for which his brilliant talents and splendid address eminently fitted him. After five years of diplomatic services, he returned to his native land bearing the reputation of an astute politician. In the winter of 1524 two French galleys filled with diplomatists reached Dunbar. David Beaton was among the courtiers, and he immediately proceeded to the Castle of St. Andrews, occupied by his uncle the Primate, and tendered an account of his stewardship.

While resident in France, Beaton had imbibed the principles and cultivated the tastes of the politicians among whom he lived in pomp and splendour, and after his return to Scotland he played the part of a wily ecclesiastic, who was either in the pay of France, or who believed that he could best promote the interests of his Church by courting the favour of the French King. Reports of the sagacity and wisdom displayed by the younger Beaton at the French Court seem to have gratified the Primate, and to have awakened a desire to advance him to some influential position in the Scottish Church, where he could cultivate his friendship and have easy access to him when he required advice in matters of ecclesiastical importance. Accordingly, the Archbishop of St. Andrews resigned the Commendatory of the Abbey of Arbroath, and appointed his nephew to the high and remunerative position of Abbot, reserving to himself only half of the revenue. David Beaton's name first appears on the chartulary of the Abbey on the 18th day of January, 1524, "confirming

Robert Scot's endowment of the altar of Saint Dupthacus," and it repeatedly occurs in charters till the close of the year 1536. As Abbot of Arbroath, Beaton sat in the Scottish Parliament of 1525, and exerted a powerful influence over the affairs of Church and State. On the fall of the Earl of Angus, and after the resignation of Crichton, Bishop of Dunkeld, in 1528, his singular talents secured his appointment to the office of Lord Privy Seal, and it is said that King James founded the famous College of Justice in Edinburgh, at his instigation. Beaton's conspicuous ability, his large knowledge of the world, his polite and insinuating manners, his skill and tact in managing men, obtained for him numerous appointments in the public service at home and abroad. In 1533 he accompanied Sir Thomas Erskine, Secretary of State, to France, to form a league with that kingdom; and he negotiated the marriage of James the Fifth, first with the beautiful and fragile Princess Magdalen of France, and, after her early death, with Mary of Guise, widow of the Duke of Longueville. To the French King he greatly commended himself by his political sagacity and winsome manners; and as a reward of his public and private services, Francis secured his appointment to the Bishopric of Mirepoix in Languedoc on the 5th December, 1537, and persuaded Pope Paul III., in January 1538, to promote him to the Cardinalate under the title *Sancti Stephani* in *Monte Coelio.* In the same year he was made Coadjutor of St. Andrews, and on the death of his venerable uncle, in 1539, he was presented to the Archiepiscopal See, and the Primacy. Four years later, he was created Lord High Chancellor of the realm; and, to crown all his honours and dignities, he was in 1544 appointed *Legatus a Latere*, and consequently

became as powerful as the Pope himself in the Scottish Church. He was assassinated on the 29th of May, 1546. Though his career was one of extraordinary prosperity, it was not uncheckered by personal misfortune. Once he was ignominiously cast down from the lofty position of Regent which he had wickedly usurped. Terrified lest the marriage of the infant Queen of Scots with the Protestant Prince of England would unite the two realms in perpetual friendship, and advance the interest of the Reformation in Scotland, he commanded the clergy to preach steadily against the match, and rouse the violent passions of the people. His conduct highly displeased the great nobles, and in 1543, he was suddenly seized while sitting at the Council Table of the Convention of Lords, held in Edinburgh, and confined for some time in the castles of Dalkeith and Blackness. But ultimately Lord Seaton "partly moved with the Queen's favour, partly allured by great gifts of gold and silver, let him escape: so that he raged more furiously than before, with all contempt of the Authority."* Then, after the disastrous battle of Solway-Moss when King James the Fifth, broken-hearted and hopeless, laid himself down to die at Falkland Palace, Cardinal Beaton attempted to obtain the Regency by craft. Mackenzie in his *Lives of Scots Writers*, states that Beaton on the 14th December, 1542, suborned a priest named Henry Balfour to forge the King's last Will and Testament, "whereby it was declared that he had committed to the Cardinal, the Earls of Argyll, Huntly, and Murray, the government of the realm during his daughter's minority; and this he caused to be proclaimed over the Market Cross of Edin-

* Pitscottie's *History of Scotland*, p. 181. (Edit. 1728).

burgh on the Monday after the king's death; but the rest of the nobility having met, and finding that the king was not in a condition to grant a warrant for forming of a Testament, they made choice of James, Earl of Arran, to be Governor of the Realm." Lindsay of Pitscottie furnishes us with a somewhat different version of the same story. "At this time," says the quaint old chronicler, "David Beaton, Cardinal of Scotland, standing in presence of the king, seeing him begin to fail of his strength and natural speech, held a Throch of Paper to his Grace, and caused him to subscribe the same; wherein the said Cardinal wrote what pleased him for his own particular Well, thinking to have authority and pre-eminence in the government of the country. But we may know hereby the king's Legacy was very short; for in this manner he departed, as after I shall show you. He turned him upon his back, and looked, and beheld all his Nobles and Lords about him, and gave a little smile of laughter, syne kissed his hand, and offered the same to all his Nobles round about him; thereafter held up his hands to God, and yielded his spirit to God."

A similar story in which the Cardinal is charged with forgery and deceit, is recounted in the *State Papers* of Sir Ralph Sadler, the acute and accomplished English Ambassador. Whatever variations there be in the different accounts that have found there way into History, it seems unquestionable that Beaton "produced a written testament under his signature, which, as Arran believed, was either absolutely forged or obtained by fraud."* But the estates of the kingdom speedily detected the forgery, refused Beaton's presumptuous

* Hill Burton's *History of Scotland*, Vol. III. p. 189.

claims, declared the Earl of Arran, head of the House of Hamilton, Regent, according to his hereditary right, and entrusted him with the care of the infant Queen.

"The Popish writers," says Mackenzie, "give Beaton very high eulogiums;" and some have even been disposed to treat him as Victor Hugo has treated Torquemada, the Grand Inquisitor,—as an apostolical man, doing violence to his better feelings in carrying out political schemes of a questionable character, and in persecuting heretics of the Protestant type. They wish men to believe that the Cardinal was at heart a good and earnest prelate, and that his very treachery and cruelty sprang out of his genuine devotion to the cause of truth, and his burning zeal for the glory of God. The argument is specious, but it is as baseless as it is dangerous. David Beaton was unquestionably a great ecclesiastic, a man of deep political sagacity, of iron will, of conspicuous administrative ability, of fine address, of remarkable social accomplishments, although he does not appear to have been an accurate scholar or a learned theologian. But notwithstanding all his ability and refined manners, he was a haughty, ambitious, and avaricious politician, a tyrannical and merciless prelate, and a licentious and profligate man. Reared under French and Italian influences he was a worldly churchman, more deeply versed in the mysteries of political intrigue than in the doctrines of Christianity, and fonder of pomp and power and luxury than of plain living, celestial contemplation and earnest pastoral work. He was indeed the Wolsey of Scotland, a man of affairs, fond of pleasure, proud of power and splendour, despotic and unscrupulous, brooking no opposition, and tolerating no rival; and like his great English contemporary he died ignominiously, reaping what he sowed.

More particularly, Beaton was *a profligate prelate.* "It must be acknowledged," says Mackenzie,* "that he was a man of unlimited ambition, endued with good natural parts, and well seen in all the parts of literature, but of a very irregular life, being much addicted to the pleasures of the fair sex, even after his advancement to the priesthood: as I have by me a Contract of Marriage dated April 10, 1546, at St. Andrews, betwixt his daughter, Margaret Beaton and the Master of Crawford, he himself consenting and agreeing to the said Contract on the one hand, and the Earl of Crawford on the other." His favourite mistress was Marion Ogilvy, daughter of Sir James Ogilvy, who was created Lord Ogilvy of Airlie in 1491, and died in 1504. At a very early period in his career he seems to have lived in concubinage with this woman; and he certainly heaped upon her wealth and property, if he degraded her by his illicit amours and the refusal of the honourable bond of marriage. On the 22nd day of May, 1528, Beaton granted a life-rent lease to Marion of the lands of *Burnton of Ethie* for a small sum of money, *and other causes*; and on the 20th day of July, 1530, he granted her a life-rent lease of "the Kirkton of St. Vigeans, with the Muirfauld and the Toft of St. Vigeans, and a piece of common land lying to the south of the church." In 1530, Ethie House was occupied by the Abbot's mistress, and she held lands on every side. On the 17th February, 1533, Beaton granted to Marion Ogilvy a nineteen years lease of the eighth part of Auchmithie lands with the Brewhouse and the lands pertaining thereto; in 1546 Marion occupied the Castle of St. Andrews; and in 1565 she was in possession

* *Lives of Scots Writers*, p. 28.

of Hospitalfield, about a mile west of Arbroath. In the Burgh Court-Book of this date, she is styled *the Lady of Melgund.* She died in June, 1575.

Thomas Maule, yr. of Panmure, one of the Cardinal's attendants, was engaged to Margaret Beaton, daughter of Marion Ogilvy; but it is said that while James the Fifth and Maule were riding out of Arbroath one day, the king advised his companion "never to marry ane priest's gett." Young Maule laid the royal counsel to heart, but he was mulcted of three thousand merks by the Cardinal for breaking the engagement. The young lady was afterwards married to David Lindsay, the Master of Crawford; and the Cardinal himself celebrated the wedding at Finhaven, amid great pomp and magnificence, shortly after the Martyrdom of George Wishart. By Marion Ogilvy, Beaton had at least two sons, *David Betoun of Melgund*, the ancestor of the Bethunes of Nether Tarbet, and *Alexander Betoun, Archdene of Lothian*, who is supposed to have become a minister of the Reformed Church.

Some Roman Catholic writers have been bold enough to attempt a defence of Beaton's conduct while he lived in concubinage with Marion Ogilvy. They have pleaded that it was perfectly lawful for a prelate to lead a life of "married domesticity," and to repudiate in practice the doctrine of clerical celibacy, when the Church of Rome denied him the rights and privileges of wedlock. But the position of these writers is quite indefensible, and unworthy of Christian advocates. If a prelate repudiated the doctrine of clerical celibacy, and believed that the law of God and the enlightened conscience sanctioned what the Church forbad, then he was morally bound to renounce the vow of celibacy, to withdraw from the

priesthood, and to sever the ties that united him to a corrupt and unscriptural Church. It may be affirmed that extraordinary moral courage was necessary to enable a prelate to disentangle himself from the mazy and complex circumstances in which he found himself placed in the Church of Rome, and to surmount the moral difficulties that surrounded his great position. But all morality is dependent on courage; and what was possible for the reformers was not impossible for Beaton. If he was an "apostolical man," as his defenders aver, he ought to have been capable of renouncing every comfort and enjoyment for the sake of promoting the highest interests of the Redeemer's kingdom. The system he countenanced was not only directly antagonistic to the letter and spirit of the New Testament, but demoralizing and dangerous in the extreme. "Every man who practised it was a law unto himself. There was no distinct sanction drawing, as the law of marriage draws, an obvious unmistakable line between domesticity and profligacy." It degraded the woman to the level of a harlot, and humiliated her in the eyes of respectable society; and as it tended to weaken the strength and sacredness of the honourable bond of marriage, it directly promoted moral laxity and conjugal infidelity. In point of fact, however, Beaton was not disposed to assume the attitude of a conscience-burdened dissenter, or anxious to profess his faith in matrimony, by affecting the life of a married person. Of him and his successor, Mr. Hill Burton* has truly said: "They flared their amours in the face of the world, as if proud of the excellence of their taste for beauty, and the rank and birth that had become prostrate to their solicitations.

* *History of Scotland*, Vol. III., p. 309.

It seemed as if their very greatness as temporal grandees enabled them to defy the ordinary laws of decorum, while their spiritual rank secured to them immunity from that clerical punishment which it was their duty to pronounce against less gifted sinners."

But Beaton was as *cruel* as he was profligate. If he was lax in morals he was severely strict, and fanatically rigid in all matters pertaining to doctrine. He was the Arch-Inquisitor of the Church in Scotland, and the relentless enemy of all religious men who ventured to protest against the teaching of the Popish clergy. As soon as he was raised to the Cardinalate he set himself to devise rigorous measures for stamping out heresy. In a great assembly of nobles and bishops, convened in the Cathedral Church of St. Andrews, he exposed the dangers which threatened the Papacy from the steady increase and daring conduct of the disciples of Luther, and warmly exhorted all present to aid him in an attempt to exterminate offenders. At the diet he commenced the work of persecution with a resolute earnestness worthy of a better cause. He denounced Sir John Borthwick, one of the Protestant leaders, as a dangerous heresiarch, ordained his goods to be confiscated and his effigy to be publicly burnt, if the man himself could not be apprehended and executed. Forthwith he marched out of St. Andrews with a strong band of supporters, and made a raid on the central district of Scotland. At Perth he adopted bloody measures for the extirpation of pronounced dissenters, and the confusion of suspected heretics. Five men belonging to the humbler ranks of society he summarily hanged, and he drowned a brave woman with an infant at her breast. Some of the most honourable burgesses of the fair city he drove into exile, and spoiled of their pro-

perty. From Perth he marched into Angus, filling the hearts of all men with terror. A Black Friar, of the name of Rogers, he seized in Dundee, and flung into the dungeon of the Castle of St. Andrews, where it is suspected he was secretly murdered; and after silencing and scattering the citizens that sympathised with the work of reformation, he proceeded to Arbroath, and occupied Ethie House. From this retreat Beaton watched the procedure of Walter Myln of Lunan, and John Petrie, chaplain to Lord Innermeath of Redcastle, and when he discovered the Lutheran tendency of their teaching, pounced upon them. These two reformers, however, were on the alert, and escaped like birds from the fowler's snare. Shortly afterwards, he proceeded to East Lothian, captured George Wishart, and had him burned in front of the Castle of St. Andrews, while he, with his prelatical and bloodthirsty friends, lay over a window, and gloated over the sacrifice. More than once he projected a plan for the massacre of the Scottish nobility and gentry disposed to look with favour on the work of reformation, and was only hindered from carrying it into execution by the King's opposition, and the difficulties of the time. The cruelty of Beaton's disposition cannot be questioned by any critic familiar with his life. Mackenzie states that "he was altogether inexcusable for putting to death so many poor people for their religion, he himself being witness of the burning and hanging of them, which showed that he was naturally of a cruel and inhuman temper;" and this witness is true. The principles of toleration were indeed unknown in Beaton's time, but if the Cardinal had possessed a humane or generous heart he could never have dealt so harshly and savagely with quiet, earnest, and devout men. As a Roman Catholic

prelate he might have reprobated their conduct, and lamented their declension without visiting them with such fearful and barbarous severities. When the head of a Church cooly sentences to death religious men who differ from him in matters concerning theological doctrine and ecclesiastical government, he must be entirely destitute of the spirit of Christ, who never broke the bruised reed nor quenched the smoking flax.

The inhumanity and haughty pride of Beaton ere long became intolerable to the people and many men of "great birth, estimation, and honour." At open tables men growled and nursed their wrath. Some fearlessly talked of assassination, and even the Cardinal overheard their mutterings and threats. To protect himself against the rising storm he formed alliances with powerful families, courted the favour of the Governor, and Mary of Guise, and strengthened the fortifications of his castle. But while in the act of fortifying his position, bold and resolute men were at work plotting his overthrow. On Friday the twenty-eighth day of May 1546, William Kirkcaldy, yr. of Grange, was in the town of St. Andrews watching the movements of the Cardinal. In the evening of the same day, Norman Lesley, Master of Rothes, crept into the town, and he was immediately followed by his uncle, John Lesley of Parkhill, in Fife, brother of the Earl of Rothes. Early in the morning of Saturday the twenty-ninth day of May, the conspirators were abroad and holding counsel in the Abbey churchyard, a short distance from the castle. As soon as the castle gates were opened and the drawbridge let down for the reception of the masons, stone-carts, and building materials, William Kirkcaldy, a youth of seventeen, and six other young men sauntered to the porter's lodge. Quietly they

approached the porter, and enquired if the Cardinal was awake. Informed that he had not yet appeared, they pretended to be satisfied with the answer, and proceeded to examine the alterations, and to look at the masons who were prosecuting their work. Silently, and without rousing the porter's suspicion, William Kirkcaldy and Norman Lesley advanced into "the midst of the close" of the castle. Immediately John Lesley and four other persons came upon the scene, and as they leapt upon the bridge the porter, alarmed at the appearance of men known to be the sworn enemies of his master, suddenly attempted to shut the gates. But in a moment his head was broken, the keys of the castle snatched from his belt, and his mangled body flung into the ditch. Speedily the workmen were turned out of the castle, and "the wicket yet" locked behind them. Young Kirkcaldy planted himself at the privy postern to prevent the escape of the Cardinal, while the rest of the company roused the servants, and without violence discharged them one by one. Beaton's bed-chamber overlooked the quadrangle of the castle. Awakened by the scuffle, he peered through the window and asked the cause of the noise. When told that Norman Lesley had seized the castle, he ran towards the postern gate; and as soon as he perceived it was guarded, "he returned quickly to his chamber, took his two-handed sword, and caused his chamber child cast chests and other impediments to the door." Vengeance was near. The sound of hurrying feet fell upon his ear, and quickly a voice demanding admission. "Who calls?" said the Cardinal. "My name is Lesly." "Is that Norman?" "Nay, my name is John." "I will have Norman," says the Cardinal, "for he is my friend." "Content yourself

with such as are here; for other shall ye get none," said the man who had vowed, after Wishart's death, that his hand should be priest to the Cardinal. At the door with John Lesley stood two determined men, "James Melvin, a man familiarly acquainted with Master George Wishart, and Peter Carmichael [of Balmadie], a stout gentleman." They commanded Beaton to open the door instantly. The trembling wretch enquired if they would save his life. "It may be that we will," said John Lesley. "Nay," said the Cardinal, "swear unto me by God's wounds." "That was said, is unsaid," answered the ringleader. The avengers cried for fire, and immediately a brazier full of burning coals was brought, and the door was fired. Realising the hopelessness of the situation, the Cardinal drew back the bolts, and his boy removed the obstructions. As the conspirators strode through the smoke they found Beaton half-dressed, sitting in a chair. The unhappy prelate quickly read the hard, scowling faces of the invaders; and in despair and anguish he cried: "I am a priest; I am a priest; ye will not slay me." John Lesley was merciless and resolute, and struck him once or twice. Peter Carmichael followed his example. But James Melvin, of Carnbee, perceiving they were angry and excited, withdrew them, and counselled "greater gravity." Thereupon Melvin returned, presented the point of his sword to Beaton's heart, and said: "Repent thee of thy former wicked life, but especially of the shedding of the blood of that notable instrument of God, Master George Wishart: for here, before my God, I protest that neither the hatred of thy person, the love of thy riches, nor the fear of any trouble thou could have done to me in

particular, moved, nor moves me to strike thee; but only because thou hast been, and remainest an obstinate enemy against Christ Jesus and his Holy Evangel." And so he struck him twice or thrice through with a stog sword; and so he fell, never a word heard out of his mouth, but "I am a priest; I am a priest; fie! fie! all is gone."*

Tidings of the Cardinal's sudden and tragical death spread throughout the city like wildfire. Sir James Learmont, the Provost, assembled "the communitie" and then hurried to the castle *fosse*, crying: "What have ye done with my lord Cardinal? Have ye slain my lord Cardinal? Let us see my lord Cardinal." "Return to your own houses," said those within the castle; "for the man ye call the Cardinal has received his reward, and in his own person will trouble the world no more." The excited crowd declared they would never depart till they had seen the Cardinal. To satisfy the mob, the conspirators brought the corpse of the Cardinal to the East Block-House-Head, and showed it over the wall. "And so they departed, without *Requiem æternam*, and *Requiescant in pace* song for his soul." The corpse of the Cardinal was salted, enclosed in "a cope of lead," and deposited in the bottom of the Sea-tower, "to await what obsequies his brethren the Bishops would prepare for him." Nine months thereafter, the dead body of Beaton was taken from its temporary place of sepulture, and "obscurely interred," says Sir James Balfour, "in the Convent of the Black Friars of St. Andrews, in anno 1547."

* Knox's *History of the Reformation*, Vol. I. pp. 176-7.

To the miserable fate of Beaton, Sir David Lindsay thus alludes in the *Tragedy*:—

> "I lay unburyit *seven* monethis and more,
> Or I was borne to cloister, kirk, or queir,
> In ane midding, quhilk pane bene to deplore,
> Without suffrage of chanoun, monk or freir;
> All proud Prelatis at me may lessonis leir,
> Quhilk rang so lang, and so triumphantlye,
> Syne in the dust doung doun so dolefullye."

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ERRATA.

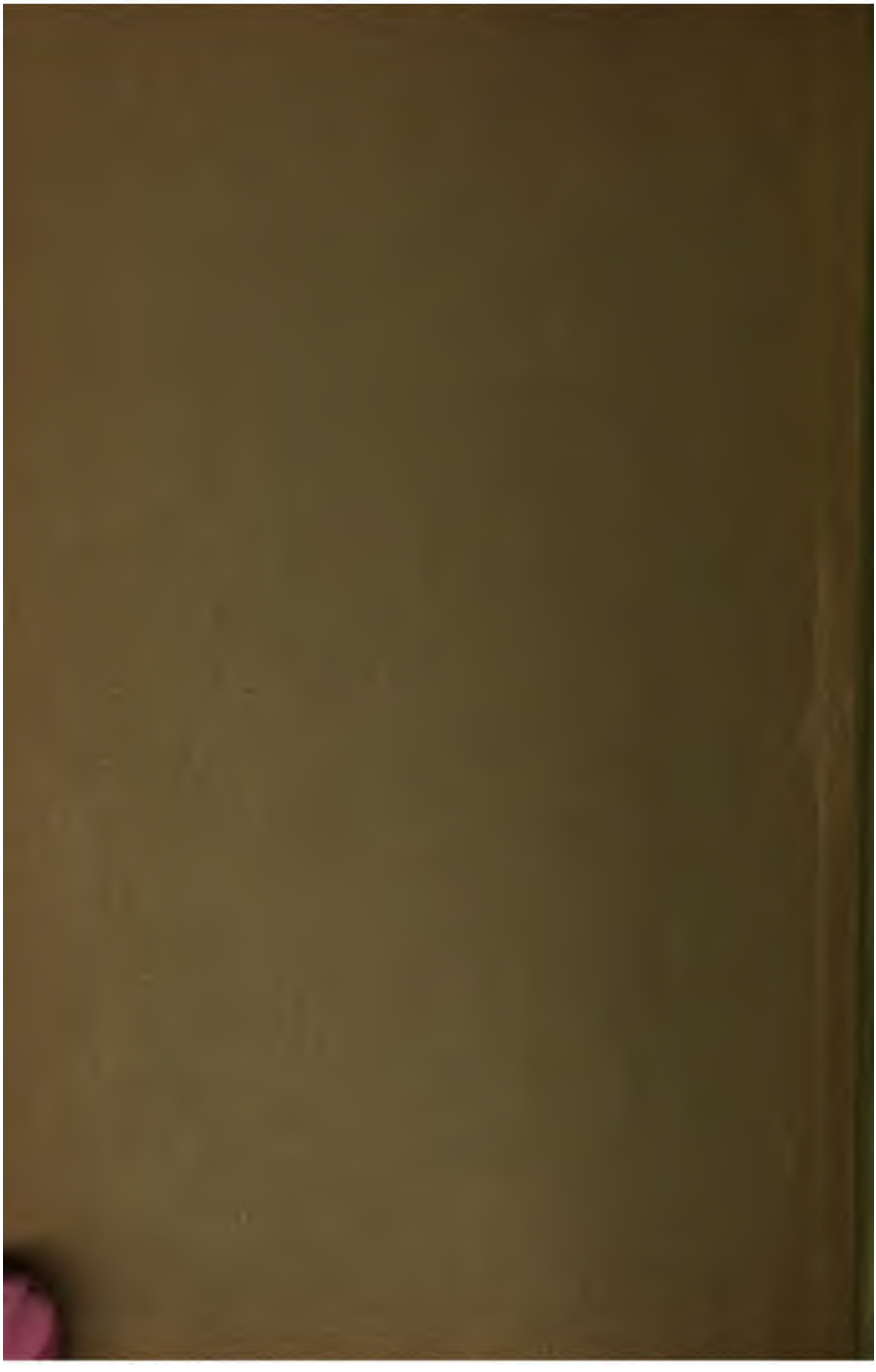
Page 42 (foot of page), for *fends*, read *feuds*.

Page 48 (fifth line from foot of page), for *commended*, read *commanded*.

Page 130 (last line of page), for *Wycklifites*, read *Wycliffites*.

Page 160 (foot of page), for *smoothed-tongued*, read *smooth-tongued*.

Page 210 (foot of page), for *on*, read *no*.



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